Feasting and Polis Institutions

Edited by
FLORIS VAN DEN EIJNDE,
JOSINE H. BLOK &
ROLF STROOTMAN

MNEMOSYNE SUPPLEMENTS HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

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Feasting and Polis Institutions

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Preface

Feasts play a crucial role in human society. They mark the rhythm of the seasons, the life cycles of individuals and the (re-) configuration of communities. Comparative anthropological and historical analysis illuminates how feasts act as a driving force of social interaction, the communal consumption of food and drink serving as a powerful tool for status negotiation. They provide venues for social cohesion and exclusion, formal and informal authority and economic redistribution.

In ancient Greece, feasts played a fundamental role in the emergence of the polis, including those institutions that helped define and transform polis society, culture and politics. Transmitting both formal and informal societal codes to next generations, Greek feasting rituals were responsible to an important degree for the great resilience of the polis, Greece's most characteristic form of political organization, which endured well over a millennium.

Two types of feasts have been and still are studied in depth: the religious festival, where sacrificial meat was offered to the gods and consumed by cult-participants during religious banquets, and the symposion, where the drinking cup was dexterously passed among a select group of social peers. This volume explores how these forms of feasting, the sacrificial feast and the symposion, emerged and evolved, but more importantly, how they stood at the core of the religious and political institutions that defined Greek society.

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CHAPTER 1

Feasting and Polis Institutions: An Introduction*

Floris van den Eijnde

Introduction

The thing a good party needs even more than food, drink, and a proper venue is a host to provide it all. Hosting a feast demonstrates one's ability to distribute wealth, with the decision of what to offer at the feast a way of assigning value to the host as well as the guests. It also puts expectations on all involved of how to behave and ultimately obligates the guests to reciprocate in some way. The question "who paid for the food and drink?" therefore ultimately represents an inquiry into power relations. This volume considers such power relations in various festive settings, tracking the implications for polis institutions from the Early Iron Age to the Imperial Period. The various contributions do so by focusing on the myriad of patronage roles at the feast and making use of a wide variety of methodologies that are based on archaeological, epigraphical and literary sources.

The relatively young anthropological research area of feasting shows how the communal consumption of food and drink serves as a natural tool for social interaction and status negotiation.[1] Highlighting status roles through ritualized action, feasting puts the sociopolitical order on display. Feasts establish and maintain political, social, and religious relationships, providing a venue for social cohesion and exclusion, for formal and informal authority and for the redistribution of economic resources. Applying these notions to the Greek polis promises to disclose hitherto underappreciated aspects of institutionalized power relations. Whether we look at the exclusiveness of Homeric feasting, the profligate display of status in Archaic sanctuaries, the democratic financ-

* I would like to thank the co-editors of this volume, Josine Blok and Rolf Strootman for reading earlier versions of this introduction.

1 The anthropology of feasting is largely derived from ethnographic and archaeological research and was most prominently expounded in a seminal volume edited by Dietler and Hayden 2001b. For previous research, see Wiessner and Schievenhövel 1996. Important subsequent applications of this conceptual framework include Bray 2003; Ulf 2006; Baker 2008; Baker 2009; Dietler 2010; Hayden and Villeneuve 2011; Collard et al. 2012; Pollock 2012; Hayden 2014a; Hayden 2014b; O'Connor 2015.

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ing model of sacrificial practices in the Classical Period, or the gradual waning of egalitarian mechanisms at the symposion at the threshold of the Hellenistic Age, we find feasting consistently reflecting actual sociopolitical.[2]

The all-pervasiveness of feasting, moreover, allows us to examine polis institutions at every level, from the oikos and the various enfranchised groups within the polis, to the polis itself and the institutionalized frameworks that existed beyond, in interstate politics and between poleis and monarchs. In fact, throughout its history it is often the feast *itself* that represents the very institutional framework that keeps the polis in place. This goes a long way toward explaining the relative scarcity of formal political institutions in Greek poleis (Athens cautiously excepted), a fact that has baffled some researchers.[3] One of the main questions posed in this volume then is how Greek poleis were able to function as independent political entities without the hierarchical and political level of complexity generally assigned to 'states' by political scientists.

In the Greek polis, human interaction does not seem complete without communal consumption of food or drink. It is thus not surprising to find even formal political institutions intimately linked with feasting. Both the Spartan *syssition* and the Athenian *prytany* functioned first and foremost as commensal institutions. The *syssition* served as the cornerstone of the Spartan political system, assigning citizenship to distinct commensal units.[4] Conversely, the Athenian *prytany*, representing the apex of the Athenian tribal system and comprising the most active political body of citizens at any given moment, resided, slept, and dined together in the Tholos in the Agora (see Steiner in this volume).[5] At the feast we see the social and political realm converging. If man is a πολιτικὸν ζῶον, he is so because he partakes in a culture of feasting.

2 Scholarship on Greek feasting has grown considerably in the past decades. Studies from the 1980s and 1990s include (most notably) Schmitt Pantel 1992, as well as Loraux 1981; Mikalson 1982; Cartledge 1985; Lissarague 1987; Schmitt Pantel 1990; van Wees 1995; Nielsen and Nielsen 1998. With the partial exception of van Wees 1995, these studies are generally empirical and emic in nature. Since the publication of Dietler and Hayden 2001b, the debate has taken a more theoretical and etic turn, see for example Evans 2004; Halstead and Barrett 2004; Wright 2004; Bray 2010; Dietler 2010; McInerney 2010; van den Eijnde 2010; Fox 2012a; Fox 2012b; Gherchanoc 2012; König 2012; Nakassis 2012; Voutsaki and Valamoti 2013; Marks and Taussig 2014; Wecowski 2014; Kistler et al. 2015. For the centrality of consumption patterns in social exchange in the wider ancient world, see Beck and Wiemer 2010; König 2012; Marks and Taussig 2014; Broekaert et al. 2016.

3 Marcus 1998; Flannery and Marcus 2012. I thank James Whitley for these references. Cf. also his contribution to this volume.

4 Hodkinson 1997, 90–91; Hodkinson 2002, 115–119.

5 The institution of the *prytany* is not to be confused with the *Prytaneion* (building) most prob-

Feasting thus constituted an exceptionally powerful venue for social exchange, political action, and ideological self-representation. From a historian's broad point of view, *developments* in feasting practices are highly indicative of wider historical institutional *transformations*.[6] In principle, this view holds for all chiefdoms and early states that had developed in Greece by the end of the Early Iron Age when the exertion of power had largely still to be defined in formal political institutions.[7] But, as the contributions to this volume show, the centrality of feasting to Greek society was never lost or even diminished. As more formal types of political institutions emerged, feasting evolved on an equal footing, often integrating those very institutions if not actually spawning them. Paying attention to the perpetually changing codes of the feast promises not only to shed light on the maintenance and resilience of polis institutions, but also to highlight institutional variability through time and place.

For these reasons, this volume has (and must have) a *longue durée* perspective. The chronological scope of the studies presented here takes us from emergence of an egalitarian, if aristocratically oriented, festive ideal at the turn of the Early Iron Age to the Archaic Period (Alexandridou, van den Eijnde, Vlachou), through the gradually more inclusive application of that ideal in the Classical world (Blok and van 't Wout, Lambert, Steiner), to its slow but steady decline coinciding with the intercession of the Hellenistic monarchies and the Roman Empire (Lynch, Strootman, Mari, Wecowski, Paul, Carbon). Geographically, this study includes mostly case studies from the Greek mainland, but also includes evidence derived from the Hellenistic Near East (Mari, Strootman) and Greco-Roman Asia Minor (Carbon, Paul). The questions posed focus on the countless ways in which festive behavior affected the development of polis institutions. They may be grouped according to several frameworks:

Socioeconomic frameworks: In one way or another, all studies brought together here focus on patronage of the feast, whether by individuals, aristocratic families, tyrants, monarchs, entire poleis, or gods. The key assumption, discussed below, is that patronage and status are intricately connected. We may ask how the 'symbolic capital' created by sponsoring a feast inspired a largely nonmonetary economy that regulated social status, political power, and the acquisition

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ably located in the so-called 'Archaic Agora' due east of the Acropolis. For a discussion of the Prytaneion see Blok and van 't Wout in this volume. The historical correspondence between the two is not quite clear (Vanderpool 1935; Miller 1978, 60–62). It seems most likely that the two were spatially separated at the time of the Kleisthenic reforms. As Blok and van 't Wout show, the Prytaneion too essentially revolved around dining.

6 Dietler and Hayden 2001a, 16–17; Pollock 2012; Hayden 2014b.

7 Hayden 2001, 46.

of wealth, and how feasts were used as venues for status negotiation within the polis. Beyond the polis horizon (or at its fringes), Mari and Strootman ask how feasts could be turned into ritualized contact zones for negotiations between poleis, or between poleis and other social units such as royal or satrapal courts. Lynch and Wecowski further examine how the advent of Persian, Macedonian, and Roman imperialism in the Aegean affected the ways in which the Greeks feasted.

Spatial frameworks: Responding specifically to the spatial turn in the social sciences, several contributions investigate the immediate physical context in which feasts were organized (Alexandridou, Blok and van 't Wout, Steiner, van den Eijnde, Vlachou). Much of our information here comes from the archaeological record. Comparative studies of feasting indicate that the environment in which a feast is staged, whether physically or culturally defined, necessarily affects the sociopolitical message of identity, status, and power, leading to an evaluation of the symbolic appeal of sanctuaries (van den Eijnde, Vlachou), agoras (Steiner), cemeteries (Alexandridou), and private homes (Alexandridou, Lynch, van den Eijnde, Wecowski), as well as hilltops, springs, and caves (van den Eijnde) as settings for a feast. Moreover, it matters greatly how the topography of Greek feasting changed over time, since a spatial shift implies a commensurate adaptation of the message conveyed. A particular concern is represented by the characteristically Greek divergence of eating and drinking in festive contexts, the former publicly, at sanctuaries, and the latter privately, at the symposion (Lynch, van den Eijnde, Wecowski).

Temporal frameworks: Feasts mark the rhythm of the seasons, the life cycles of individuals, and the configuration of communities. Some of the most tangible reminders of how deeply this cyclical experience of time was embedded in Greek public consciousness are the Greek Sacred Calendars of the Classical and Hellenistic eras. Carbon, Lambert, and Paul seek to tease out the evidence for the allocation of economic resources at religious festivals, revealing the subtle ways in which status was either downplayed or enhanced and asking who was involved in the composition of these calendars and what kind of power individuals or groups were able to derive from it.

Feasting, Food and Communication

In the discourse of feasting, a 'feast' is an etic term derived from ethnographic and archaeological research.[8] It involves a gathering of people engaged in

8 See note 1 above.

extraordinary consumption patterns.[9] The shared consumption of food (commensality) or drink (conbibiality) stands at the core of a feast, and must be non-quotidian, either in quality, quantity, or setting.[10] That is to say, it is essentially constituted by the communal consumption of food and drink, but is set apart from ordinary household meals by the occasion—and frequently also the location—or the extraordinary nature of the meal. While anything out of the ordinary may serve as an occasion for a feast, there are certain recurring themes, including so-called life-crisis events, such as birth, marriage, and death,[11] associated with van Gennep's rites of passage.[12] But also natural events, such as the summer solstice, or religious events are suitable occasions for a feast. In many instances, feasting will include a display of various elements, such as food, special objects and facilities, and, of course, the individuals or groups who partake in the feast.

Above all, feasting requires abundance. Without a reasonable surplus of foodstuffs or luxury items, feasting must remain restricted. Food surpluses play a key role in sustaining the feasting economy: the larger the surpluses, the greater the capacity to feast. The production, use, transformation, control, and distribution of surpluses are therefore intimately connected with the practice of feasting. It is only at the feast itself, however, that a conversion takes place of economic and symbolic capital toward a broad range of "culturally appropriate" goals.[13] Feasts ensure that food surpluses are transformed into usable non-consumables or services that are crucial for the upkeep and management of a social system.[14]

Since feasting is directly dependent on precious available resources, feasts become "highly charged symbolic media" and, as such, preeminent tools for social engineering.[15] Feasts not only accelerate the exchange of ideas, they also create "condensed meaning," solidifying those ideas within a fixed moral

9 Dietler and Hayden 2001b.

10 Dietler and Hayden 2001a, 3; Hayden 2001, 28. The word conbibiality is not part of the regular discourse of feasting, but is here introduced as a useful pendant to the more commonly applied 'commensality,' first coined, to my knowledge, by Duden 2005, 247.

11 See Wiessner 2001, 116–117. Feasting may occur when burying the dead, appeasing ancestors, initiating youth, marrying, etc.

12 van Gennep 1960.

13 Dietler and Hayden 2001a, 13.

14 Hayden 2001, 27 has even argued that feasting may be a driving force behind the intensified production of surpluses that surpass household needs for survival.

15 Dietler 2001, 72.

system.[16] The intimacy of food sharing enables the participants at a feast to euphemize their self-interested nature and creates a shared "sincere fiction of disinterested generosity," allowing individuals to be manipulated "without questioning a shared vision of the social order that the feast reproduces and naturalizes."[17] This quality of consumption is perhaps best expressed by Arjun Appadurai:

> When human beings convert some part of their environment into food, they create a peculiarly powerful semiotic device. In its tangible and material forms, food presupposes and reifies technological arrangements, relations of production and exchange, conditions of field and market, and realities of plenty and want. It is therefore a highly condensed social fact. (…) This semiotic virtuosity has two general sources. One is the fact that, unlike houses, pots, masks, or clothing, food is a constant need but a perishable good. The daily pressure to cook food (combined with the never-ending pressure to produce or acquire it) makes it well suited to bear the load of every day social discourse. The second fundamental fact about food, though this is much less well understood, is its capacity to mobilize strong emotions.[18]

Much of the heuristic value of this conceptual framework stems from feasts providing a community with a powerful means of communication. Not only do feasts provide an excellent stage for interacting with the gods—ancient polytheism is inconceivable without sacrifice and communal banqueting—they are prime venues for sociopolitical exchange between groups and individuals. Feasting provides an excellent venue for various forms of social technology (kinship bonding, ritual action, gift exchange) that involve communication.[19] Feasts play a key role in establishing sentiments of friendship, kinship, and community solidarity,[20] qualities that allow them to articulate and even insti-

16 Dietler 2001, 66, borrowing the phrase 'condensed meaning' from Cohen 1979, a concept which enables social categories to either relax or become fixed.

17 Dietler 2001, 75 and 71 respectively. Cf. Bourdieu's notion of *méconnaissance* (Bourdieu 1984).

18 Appadurai 1981, 494.

19 Hayden 2001, 26.

20 Like rituals, feasting naturally provides the opportunity for the maintenance as well as the transformation of social structures. Dietler has rightfully criticized "the Durkheimian functionalist understanding of ritual as an adaptive system for the maintenance of social cohesion"; since the work of Bourdieu 1984, attention has shifted to the "historically instru-

tutionalize regional exchange systems.[21] At the feast, advantages may be sought and gained by acquiring a labor force, spouses, or support in emergencies and by establishing control over resources and people.[22] Commensal hospitality, furthermore, establishes enduring relationships between exchange partners, relatives, or political leaders and provides the social ambiance for the exchange of valuables and other goods that circulate within a social system. Feasts may also provide the main context for the arbitration of disputes, the passing of legal judgments, and the public acting out of sanctions (e.g., ridicule, mimicry, ostracism, etc.).[23] Finally, feasting allows one to establish links with gods or ancestors.

The mobilization of public consciousness is, of course, not confined to feasting in the narrow sense defined above. The occasions that provide a backdrop for individuals to manipulate—consciously or unconsciously—public opinion are many. Oratorical and theatrical displays, religious ceremonies, weddings, funerals, etc., all carry in them a dramatic force capable of influencing the audience's mood. Such events stand out from ordinary occurrences, precisely because the public's attention renders them socially more relevant than others and their meaning is 'condensed.'[24] Dramatic symbolism infuses norms and categories with emotion,[25] enabling public consciousness to be recalibrated and attuned to a specific social message. The social force of such events lies in their capacity to transcend the moment itself and transform the public's awareness of the social order. Following Evelyn van 't Wout, we may call them 'situations of critical reference', because they may be referred to when the social order is being disputed.[26] As such, the socially constituting power of feasts is often extended into the future.

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mental role of ritual in creating, defining, and transforming structures of power" (Dietler 2001, 70).

21 For an example, see Vlachou in this volume.

22 Hayden 2001, 58; Dietler 2001, 69. Of these examples, labor mobilization has been extensively documented in ethnographic scholarship, cf. Dietler and Herbich 2001.

23 Cf. the importance of food and eating in mediating political disputes in the *Iliad* (9.202–228 and 24.601–642).

24 Cohen 1979.

25 Turner 1967, 29.

26 See van 't Wout 2010. Her model of a situation of critical reference follows Gilsenan's 'situations of ultimate reference', coined for the so-called 'status honor' society of Lebanon (Gilsenan 1976). However, both terms specifically relate to public negotiation through the spoken word. Cf. Cohen 1995, 85–86. In this study, the term 'situation of critical reference' is understood to apply to all acts that convey a social message.

Feasting and Power Relations

Feasting closely reflects existing power relations. The symbolic capital that is created by investing surpluses for the purpose of a feast may attach itself to groups or individuals as a kind of 'credit rating' that can be used to exercise power. This rating ultimately depends on the ability to control the flow of nutrition and is closely related to the perceived success of a group or an individual. In societies with articulated status distinctions but without formal rules to determine political authority, hosting a feast is an excellent means to attract power. Being fundamentally unstable, power acquired in this way continually needs to be renegotiated, sustained and contested through commensality. As Polly Wiessner has shown, "cultural constructions of value are constantly tested against the realities of the surrounding world. When contradictions occur … feasting can be called on to revalue goods and direct the course of change."[27] This negotiation depends on the obligation that is perceptibly incurred through the acceptance of an invitation to a feast. The members of a feasting community are often locked in a long-term social bond of ties and debts associated with an implicit understanding of reciprocal obligation. The attempt to stage ever grander feasts is thus aimed at forcing an opponent's hand to either match the attempt or to default on the obligation and recede into a position of dependency. A successfully executed feast, therefore, will result in increased prestige and status, which may be exchanged for economic gain or political influence.[28]

This quality of empowerment is a prime motivation to stage a feast, because it ultimately results in the ability to gain influence over group decisions or actions.[29] The empowering capacity of feasting may be at play in any festive context, but some life-crisis situations, such as weddings and funerals, are especially attuned to this purpose. As has been shown in the context of seventh-century Attika, funerals are prone to attract one of the most fundamental bids for power, that of a younger generation assuming control of a kinship group and advertising itself to the community at large.[30] Hans van Wees has made some excellent comparisons with the Viking world, where funerals counted among the most spectacular festive events.[31] In Greece, empowerment presumably played a role in the context of feasting at so-called ruler's dwellings in the

27 Wiessner 2001, 116; cf. Hayden 2001, 33–34.

28 Hayden 2001, 33.

29 Dietler 2001, 78.

30 Kistler 1998; Houby-Nielsen 1996, 1995, 1992, Alexandridou in this volume.

31 van Wees 1995.

Early Iron Age,[32] but remained a conspicuous element at the sanctuaries of the gods, where aristocrats, tyrants and monarchs sought to promote their status through conspicuous dedications and a lavish display of power.[33]

Individuals thus empowered can be counted on to solidify their enhanced status by creating multilateral bonds of reciprocal invitations. Such feasting networks depend on the ability of participants to counter the invitation and assume an equal role as patrons within the feasting community. Sustained patronage roles represent a constituting mechanism of power in early states with the expected reciprocity providing the basis for a nascent institutional framework. Examples of reciprocal patronage networks in the Greek world abound, ranging from the highly exclusive 'Männerbund' of Homeric princes[34] to the more pervasive, if still restricted, symposiastic circles of later centuries (many more examples are provided throughout this volume).[35] As will be argued below, the ideal of egalitarian feasting practices is a common thread throughout the history of the Greek polis.

However, feasting may also legitimize and institutionalize relations of *asymmetrical* social power. This is especially noteworthy in the context of patron-client feasts, where the expectation of reciprocal obligation is no longer maintained because a majority of the community has effectively defaulted on their reciprocal obligations. In the words of Michael Dietler, "the acceptance of a continually unequal pattern of hospitality symbolically expresses the formalization of unequal relations of status and power and ideologically naturalizes it through repetition of an event that induces sentiments of social debt."[36] In Greece, elements of patron-client feasting emerged toward the dawn of the Hellenistic age when the ideal of egalitarian feasting was gradually undercut by de-euphemized power divergences.[37]

The expression of power divergences is largely accomplished by 'diacritical' distinctions in feasting practice, which serves as a "symbolic device to naturalize and reify concepts of ranked differences in the status of social orders or classes."[38] Gender, age, and status may be accentuated through various modes

32 For feasting and ruler's dwellings see Mazarakis Ainian 1997. Cf. also Alexandridou and van den Eijnde in this volume.

33 See Mari and Strootman in this volume.

34 van Wees 1995, 173. Cf. also Hitch 2009; Wecowski 2014.

35 Wecowski 2014. Cf. also Lynch and Wecowski in this volume (both with extensive bibliography).

36 Dietler 2001, 83.

37 Cf. also Lynch, Wecowski, Strootman and Mari in this volume.

38 Dietler 2001, 85.

of consumption, choice of location, temporal distinctions (e.g. order of serving) and differentiated types of food and drink. Pauline Schmitt Pantel has pointed out several diacritical devices that were at play during a Greek banquet. One example is to distinguish pre-adult boys from their fathers: the boys are seated on the floor or behind their fathers, they receive a smaller share of food, sometimes consisting of meat only, their drink is different and they serve the adults their food while entertaining them by singing.[39] Of course, 'elite practices' are often emulated by those of lesser status. In order to maintain an elite status, the devaluation of a specific type of diacritical tool must in such cases be countered either through the adoption of sumptuary laws that restrict specific types of consumption or by adopting more complex diacritical devices that can only be accessed by a wealthier class.

Importantly, while diacritical distinctions may indicate how a feasting community was organized internally by imparting diverging social roles to the participants, they also draw attention to its connection with the world outside the group by establishing who gets to participate and who does not.[40] Feasting thus represents a critical tool in building group identities, especially in the context of early states.

Ritual and Religion at the Feast

While all feasts by nature are ritualized to some degree, not all feasts are 'religious'.[41] Ritualization is an effective way to secure a feast's enduring significance as a socially constituting event, since it builds on its status as a 'situation of critical reference'. First, ritualization involves the dramaturgical effects necessary to establish condensed meaning and as such conveys a social message. Second, ritualization often entails a measure of repetition. The re-performance of a certain ritualized element (e.g., song, dance, libation or, indeed, consumptive behavior) reinforces the socially constitutive effect of the event precisely because it is expected to take place. Foregoing or amending the conventions of the ritual creates a disruption in the communal framework of expectations and may cause the social value of the ritual to be questioned, which is why ritualized feasting tends to be conservative.

39 Schmitt Pantel 1992, 76–90, esp. 76–77. See also Schmitt Pantel, 1990.

40 Dietler 2001, 85–88; see also Kathleen Lynch in this volume.

41 van den Eijnde in this volume.

Whether or not a feast is 'religious' in nature depends both on context and perspective. Its ritual nature—including repetitive action and dramaturgical devices—makes feasting a suitable environment for religious symbolism. But while feasting often has religious overtones, religious symbolism in itself does not necessarily constitute the core of a feast. Like the rituals that may be attached to them, feasts are not necessarily 'religious' even if they may include divine connotations. We might distinguish between religious symbolism, which establishes a spiritual link with the divine, and 'sacrality,' defined as 'belonging or having been consecrated to a god'.[42] The distinction is crucial, especially from the perspective of patronage. While Greek feasting often involved religious symbolism, only the festivals of the gods could truly be considered 'religious' in this sense, precisely because they were consecrated to a divinity who assumed the role of patron to the feast. As we will see, the potential to neutralize in this way the problematic power issues connected with patronage had wide-ranging implications for the way Greek society evolved.

The convergence of religion and feasting is, of course, most striking in the case of animal sacrifice, creating a shared identity between the participants by excluding nonparticipants from sharing in the consumption of the meat.[43] After the kill—and when the animal had been flayed, gutted, and cooked—the meat was divided among the members of the sacrificial community, while choice portions were to be shared between the gods and priests as well as other stakeholding parties.[44] This raises important questions about the way value was assigned to individuals in Greek society. For example, scholars agree that partaking in the sacrifice was a basic characteristic of an individual's membership to a community, precisely because of the right to his or her share of the sacrificial meat.[45] Inversely, a disruption in the meat distribution had a deconstructive effect on the cult community, because it upset the social expectations

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42 The use of the word 'sacred' (*ta hiera*) here is based on Blok 2014, 16–17 and Blok 2017, 58–63. See also van den Eijnde in this volume (63 and n. 20).

43 For the constituting effects of exclusion, cf. Paul in this volume. Detienne 1989, 20 posited that animal sacrifice has the potential to create a sense of communal identity through "a new orientation of will in human action (…). With the appearance of sacrifice, everything changes, for the most obscure or even the crudest of sacrificial acts implies something unprecedented: a movement of self-abandonment." Burkert 1983, 35–48 posited that this characteristic of animal sacrifice is aided by the psychological shock of the slaughter, but cf. Georgoudi 2005.

44 Loraux 1981. Cf. recently Ekroth 2008a, 2008b, esp. 268; Hägg and Alroth 2005, all with extensive bibliography on the butchery, preparation, and division of the sacrificial animal. See also Burkert 1985, 57, 96–97 and Carbon in this volume.

45 Blok 2017, 57–79; Ekroth 2008a, 2008b; Schneider 2006; Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel 1992,

that accompanied the sacrificial ritual.[46] To Walter Burkert, the appropriate distribution of the portions created a *kosmos*, where "the stronger ones get their share first".[47] In terms of status roles, then, some essential characteristics of sacrificial practice are comprehensively included in the wider framework of feasting.

The Rise of Sacred *temenoi* and the Ideal of Shared Patronage

As we have seen, special status is awarded to those who host a feast. The first reference to this principle in Greek literature is made in Homer. Andromache's lament about the fate awaiting an orphaned Astyanax relates directly to his expected exclusion from the banqueting cycle of his father and his inability to claim an autonomous role as a patron for himself.[48] The independence afforded by hosting a feast also extends to the religious realm, where Homeric princes assume the role of priest at sacrificial ceremonies and the choice portions of the sacrificial meat are considered an honor (*geras*) bestowed on deserving men who are *basileis* in their own right.[49] In Classical and Hellenistic times, the priest or priestess (as representative of the god) occupied this position of honor, but contrary to the Homeric situation, this did not necessarily reflect their political status.[50] As Gunnel Ekroth has pointed out, the divergence between political and religious authority has not yet been fully understood or explained.[51] Interestingly, this coincided with a divergence in the consumption of meat and wine in the eighth and seventh centuries, with the former gradually being transferred to the sanctuaries consecrated to the gods and the latter moved toward the private sphere (discussed in the next section). Transferring the ceremonial consumption of meat to 'neutral' temenoi of the gods "deprived individuals of the benefits of patronage and the status enhance-

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45; Svenbro 1989, 5, 13; Burkert 1987, 46, n. 4; Gladigow 1984; Baudy 1983; Burkert 1983, 6; Loraux 1981.

46 Schneider 2006.

47 Burkert 1987, 46.

48 *Il.* 6.489–498; cf. also Wecowski 2014, 311–312.

49 See Hitch 2009.

50 See note 44 and Carbon and Paul in this volume.

51 Ekroth 2008b, 269: "If we look upon Greek priests and priestesses from the point of view of meat distribution … they were of great importance and held high status. It is possible that we may not have fully grasped the significance of priests and priestesses in Greek religion."

ment of hosting a meat feast," thus stabilizing society by removing—or at least diminishing—the threat of single individuals becoming too dominant.[52]

This transfer from individual to communal patronage allowed feasting to become more inclusive and capable of operating on an ever-larger scale, thus opening the door for the very integrating forces that gave rise to the emergence of the polis. Under the auspices of divine patronage and within the 'neutrality' of the sacred precinct, multiple patronage networks were able to merge. The loss of the ability to host a banquet at a ruler's own dwelling was offset by the advantage of integrating much wider social networks, which was to be an essential prerequisite for the communality and inclusivity of polis life. This constituting development consisted of nothing less than *the transfer of patronage from the individual to the community* (i.e., the polis).[53] Whether this community consisted of a few powerful individuals and their following, as seems to have been the case throughout much of the Archaic period, or represented the entire citizen body, as it did in some classical poleis, is of less significance to our purpose here. The point is that in the polis feasting reflected the political reality that power was essentially shared collectively and equally between its participants. Whenever we find the polis, demes, gene, phratries, or other associations accounting sacrificial finances on stone, we observe the citizen body assuming the role of patron to the feast, through the 'sincere fiction' of divine patronage. Public feasting revolved around shared meat consumption, which was deemed essential for a person's membership of any kind of association, and especially the polis. Redirecting the words of François de Polignac: the transfer of ceremonial meat consumption from individual dwellings to sanctuaries represented the true "acte constitutif" of the Greek polis.[54]

However, feasts are organized by humans, not gods, leaving many loopholes for individuals to enhance their own prestige. If divine patronage posed new rules to the game by restricting the ability of individuals to promote personal status claims through individual patronage, it did open the possibility to promote oneself through the assumption of specific ritual roles, ranking individuals according to their status and through various diacritical devices. Examples of tyrants, aristocrats or leading citizens, promoting themselves through their personal involvement in the cult proceeding, abound. The fundamental difference with the direct kind of individual patronage prevailing in the Early Iron

52 van den Eijnde in this volume, 84.

53 For the relationship between the polis in the administration of the cults to the gods see Blok 2017, 79–99 and 187–248, as well as Lambert and Steiner in this volume.

54 de Polignac 1984, 86.

Age, is the fact that in the Greek polis and from the Archaic period, all ritual action is ultimately done on behalf of the community.

This 'oblique' form of status enhancement is neatly illustrated by the well-accounted sacred finances of Classical Athens, noted for its egalitarian approach to cultic participation. The epigraphic record illustrates how public sacrifice was financed and, by extension, how the ensuing banquet was realized in monetary terms, thus giving us a sense of the 'cloaked' means by which individuals were allowed to claim a share of what remained, in essence, communal patronage.[55] As a rule, public sacrifices were financed by a capital fund held by the community on behalf of a god. This capital was generally invested in land or loaned out, with the rent or interest accrued providing the financial means to purchase the sacrificial animal.[56] Such divine trust funds served to remove meat consumption from direct human patronage by transferring the prestige that comes with doling out meat to the impartial realm of the gods. However, while the system was "essentially collective" and impersonal—because it allowed for no direct funding of public sacrifices by human actors—Lambert has shown that two paths remained open for individuals to contribute to the funding of a festival: they could be donors of land (or more directly of monetary capital to the sacred trust fund), or assume the financial responsibility of renting sacred land or borrowing with interest the capital from the sacred funds.[57] Recognition of such involvement is surely reflected by the desire to record such transactions on stone. A city's sacred landholdings could be supplemented by individual donations, as was the case with Nikias, who donated some prime property to Delian Apollo to fund sacrificial banquets.[58] Individual donations of this kind were "oblique in that the recipient of the donation is conceived of as being the god or the community as whole, not individual fellow citizens; indirect in that the sacrifices are not directly funded by the capital donation, but by the rent paid by the lessees of the donated land, or in cases of donations of monetary capital, by borrowers."

All this reinforces the notion that direct individual patronage remained problematic and, especially in the case of democratic Athens, had to be deflected by a complicated system of sacred and human finances.[59] While individual donors received due credit for their contribution, the actual expenditures

55 Rosivach 1994; Papazarkadas 2011. See Lambert in this volume.

56 See Papazarkadas 2011; Blok 2010, 72–75; Lambert in this volume, 159.

57 Lambert in this volume, 160.

58 This donation was recorded on a stele on Delos: see Lambert in this volume, 160–162.

59 Not all 'sacred' (*hieros*) expenses were derived from 'sacred' funds *stricto sensu*, as some were funded from funds belonging to a god directly (*hieros* funds), while others were

were made through both sacred and communal funds, implying that patronage of public festivals was something that was shared between gods and community alike. If the sacred nature of public festivals seems to implicate the god as the 'host' and the citizens as his 'guests,' the reciprocity inherent in the system of financing simultaneously leaves some room to conceive of the god as a 'guest' invited to his own feast.

Of course, Classical Athens is but one example, and a rather extreme one at that. The 'obliqueness' of personal gifts through sacred finances certainly varied from time to time and from place to place. Prestigious votive offerings, massive construction works and the reorganization of major cults by tyrants, or the lavish donations by Hellenistic rulers to reimburse the cost of religious festivals, all show the latitude individuals enjoyed at times to promote their role as benefactors. In the end, however, no matter how thin the line between overt, direct patronage and oblique benefaction was stretched, all involvement was ultimately conceived of as communal action on behalf of a body of participants (i.e., citizens) equally sharing in the cults of the polis.

Conbibiality and Feasting: The Symposion

We have thus far focused on patronage roles in commensal settings, leaving for the moment the matter of conbibiality and its special place in Greek festive customs. It is to this issue that we must now turn. I have argued that the relegation of meat to sacred temenoi during the Early Iron Age and Early Archaic period coincided with a separation of large scale wine consumption to the domestic sphere, giving rise to the quintessential aristocratic form of social interaction, based on intra-group equality, known as the symposion.[60] The divergence of meat and wine consumption is essential to understanding the peculiar nature of polis feasting.

While some may consider food rather than drink the defining requisite for a feast, Michael Dietler emphatically includes other nonsolid foodstuffs, such as

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obtained from public funds (*demoteles*) earmarked dutifully (*hosios*) for 'sacred' purposes, see Blok 2017, 87–94.

60 van den Eijnde in this volume. Note, however, that the symposion maintained its social relevance in democratically governed poleis. Wecowski argues in this volume, 269–270. that the symposion was a powerful medium in the ideological 'aristocratization' of certain elements in the Athenian *dēmos* under the democracy, allowing newly enfranchised elites to break into aristocratic networks by organizing symposia of their own.

alcohol and other mind-altering substances.[61] Kathleen Lynch, however, rightfully points to an important semiotic distinction between feasts that revolve around the consumption of food and those that focus on liquid consumption. Food is a central element of feasting around the world (and has been throughout history) and its absence at the symposion is highly unusual in anthropological terms and hard to explain unless we take into consideration the very different semiotic values of eating and drinking. The ritualized setting of the symposion and the centrality of consumption are what characterizes the symposion as a feast. In contrast to the sacred festivals, the ritualized consumption of food is not instrumental here. Special rules concerning the order in which to drink (*epidexia*) or drinking games (*kottabos*) emphasize the centrality of drinking at the symposion, while food is served almost as an afterthought and serves no function beyond that of elementary nourishment.[62]

Lynch's distinction between these two modes of feasting is critical to her argument that while symposia establish many of the goals of food-feasts—i.e., group definition, reinforcing ideology, or idealizing relationships—"they do so without the message of dependency implicit in the shared consumption of food."[63] This ties in with another contribution to this volume which stresses the egalitarian connotation of drinking as opposed to the more hierarchical implications of meat-feasts, which involve a much more complex allocation of economic resources. Drinking wine does not presuppose nearly as many societal arrangements as the consumption of food and, in particular, meat. Eating a man's food puts one in his debt. Drinking his wine, however, does not have quite the same impact. What is more, it is easier to return the invitation.

This observation is important, as both modes of feasting were relegated to different domains during the Archaic and Classical periods. Eating meat as a form of conspicuous consumption gained its ritual anchorage in the sanctuaries of the gods, euphemizing individual status claims through communal action. Drinking wine on the other hand was mostly restricted to the domestic sphere, at the symposion, promoting a subtle kind of peer equality that was less-suited to the more powerful status implications of meat consumption.

And finally, wine, not meat consumption served as a diacritical device to draw gender distinctions, an obvious observation that has, however, been insufficiently explained. While drinking wine was closely associated with male bonding, meat consumption in sanctuaries was fundamentally gender neutral.

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61 Dietler 2001, 81–82 in particular has stressed that the consumption of mind-altering substances (alcohol, cannabis, peyote, coca leaves, etc.) is essential in many feasts.

62 See Wecowski 2014.

63 Lynch in this volume, 236.

The right to claim a portion of the offering meat was not only restricted to priestesses but to all citizens, male and female.[64]

The Decline of Egalitarian Feasting

We have observed that the divergence between meat and wine consumption—and the potential of stabilizing the social tensions it entailed—was inextricably linked to the rise of the polis. Extending our scope now to the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods uncovers a somewhat reverse development. If the Archaic period witnessed a divergence of food and drink into separate societal environments, each with their own rules in terms of group membership and status display, a muddling of precisely these same rules becomes increasingly apparent from the late fifth century, only to increase and escalate during the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods. Kathleen Lynch, for example, makes a strong case for the increased importance of food at symposiastic gatherings in Athens, a development that is mirrored by increasingly smaller and fewer kraters and the appearance of *lagynoi*, presumably used by individuals to bring a personal supply of wine to the symposion.[65]

Simultaneously, a spatial reconfiguration took place in private settings, where the communal setup of the Classical *andron*, with its modest square design, gave way to the larger oblong halls that became a central feature of elite Hellenistic houses. This reconfiguration had the effect of impeding free communication between all participants and focusing attention on the position of the host seated at the back. Decorated and positioned ostentatiously within the buildings' architecture, these dining halls served specifically to emphasize the host's status.[66] Lynch suggests that increased straining of resources in Athens caused a transfer of public costs to individuals who, in turn "expected recognition for their generosity, their *charis*. The hospitality offered to guests could, perhaps, make the citizen guests more congenially disposed to voting favorably for honors for the host."[67]

Thus, in the fourth century, a new, euergetistic element took root in private feasting practices, fundamentally changing the symposion from an egalitarian event for the elites to one that increasingly served to empower its host.[68]

64 Blok 2017, 34.
65 Lynch in this volume, 245–247.
66 Lynch in this volume, 247–248.
67 Lynch in this volume, 249–252.
68 See Schmitt Pantel 1997, 31–35; cf. also Schmitt Pantel 1992, 355–420.

As Marek Wecowski points out, the symposion had come full circle: "Emerging around the mid-ninth century against the background of the 'patron-role feasting,' to use the Dietlerian term, or of the slightly less formalized and less stratified 'empowering feast' of the Early Iron Age, the Greek elite banquet ultimately returned to the world of powerful and commanding individuals striving for, consolidating, or celebrating their political position through access to feasting."[69]

This development was very much in line with the ascendency of the Macedonian courts with its proclivity for organizing large-scale royal banquets, first in Vergina and Pella and later throughout the Hellenistic Near East. These events were staged within a multitude of banqueting halls, the central one usually being the largest and apparently designed to focus attention on the host's role in staging the banquet.[70] The well-documented banquets staged by Philip II and his successors contrast quite clearly with the egalitarian feasting practices that developed in the Greek polis during the Archaic and Classical periods.[71] But while Macedonian feasting practices appear to hark back to the patronage roles of the Early Iron Age, the high nobility, of whom the king was *primus inter pares*, cherished in fact a strong egalitarian *modus vivendi* with feasting an important instrument to cement bonds among them. Only in the course of the fourth century did feasting become a venue for the royal family's centralizing and absolutist tendencies. Manuela Mari presents a succinct description of Hellenistic monarchs as patrons of a feast: "The king, who was perceived and often described as a major benefactor, was in a position to invite hundreds, or even thousands, of people to dinner, to distribute large quantities of food, wine, and other gifts among his guests, and to mobilize the economic and human resources needed for such events."[72] Festivals thus served "as ideal settings for important announcements, political meetings, and diplomatic maneuvers".[73] Importantly, food was reintroduced as a central element in private feasting, for which Lynch coins the term 'symposium-feast'.[74]

So how did such changed notions of patronage affect the order of things outside the private sphere, at major sanctuaries? From the Early Iron Age onward, feasting patterns directly responded to emerging ideas of citizen participation,

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69 Wecowski in this volume, 270.

70 On banqueting at the Hellenistic royal courts see Strootman 2014, *passim*, with references to the older literature; on the architecture of Hellenistic palaces Nielsen 1994.

71 Cf. Mari in this volume, 310 and n. 38.

72 Mari in this volume, 297–298.

73 Mari in this volume, 297.

74 Lynch in this volume, 234.

in particular the notion that large-scale meat consumption ought not to be directly dependent on the patronage of individuals. Removing animal sacrifice to the neutrality of the sacred *temenoi* of the gods effectively restrained an individual's potential for self-aggrandizement through patronage, thus paving the way for aristocratic, and in some cases democratic, forms of government. In a sense, we see the reverse happening in the Hellenistic period. Alexander's offering at the sanctuary of Athena at Troy after the battle of the Granicus, highlights the potential for a new generation of monarchs to assume—albeit obliquely, in the sense defined above—the role of patron.[75] Interceding in this way at a sanctuary of international significance, Alexander may well have adopted a policy of the Persian kings.[76] Without the intercession of powerful individuals, however, sacrificial practice certainly retained its core function of providing citizens with a share in the polis-state. The prominent role of Hellenistic monarchs thus represents an added dimension to, rather than a fundamental change of sacrificial practice in Greek communities.

Involvement in major festivals became one of the main responsibilities of Alexander's successors. Rolf Strootman suggests that "Hellenistic kings in their movements through the landscape followed to some extent an international festival calendar."[77] This allowed the king to connect directly with local elite networks. The presence of the king at a major festival, such as the festival in honor of Herakles-Melkart attended by Antiochos IV in Tyre, attracted people from far beyond that city, allowing court elite and local elites to interact and conduct business through feasting, gift exchange, and status negotiations: "As a result of the institutionalization of new international festivals associated with the royal courts, and the physical attendance of kings at already institutionalized (pan)hellenic festivals, court feast and civic feast became overlapping categories."[78] Local civic festivals were thus transformed into contact zones "providing a ritualized venue for interaction" that could be used "to integrate the king and members of the court community to some extent into civic communities," to the point that "by engaging in civic sacrificial ritual and the subsequent ritualized feasting, foreign kings could become citizens of sorts." Since the court could not always be present at the festivals, the Seleukids developed a policy of "institutionalizing their participation in civic cult by providing

75 Plut. *Alex.* 15.4.

76 Hdt. 7.43. Alexander's sacrifice seems, in fact, to have mirrored Xerxes' earlier sacrifice at Troy for propagandistic reasons.

77 Strootman in this volume, 289.

78 Strootman in this volume, 290.

the means for sacrifice," making use of proxies among the local elites on the monarch's behalf: the so-called 'friends' (*philoi*) of the king, who could be found both at court and in the poleis.[79]

This goes a long way toward explaining why the Hellenistic empires were not civic states, in the sense that its inhabitants could be thought of as 'citizens' of the king's realm. Rather, it was the king himself who sought to integrate his person into pre-existing civic structures on a local level, allowing him to negotiate directly with local communities, as a stand-in citizen of these communities. The reverse can be observed in the case of some Hellenistic royal festivals. As Mari points out, some of these festivals "became 'moveable' events and were often dedicated not to a single deity, but to many or all."[80] Not being specifically linked to a particular place, such as a town or a sanctuary they were deprived of an exclusively civic meaning. This flexibility in turn allowed for ruler cult to become more acceptable and to gradually take its place alongside the festivals dedicated to the traditional gods.

It is interesting to note that the practice of Hellenistic monarchs to be present—either in person or by proxy—at local festivals was part of a wider, globalizing trend. In Hellenistic and Roman times, honorary sacrificial portions of meat were habitually awarded to outside individuals whose actions were deemed sufficiently important to the community who executed the offering, thereby creating a symbolic link between individual and community. As Mathieu Carbon insists, "a majority of the honors consists of simple portions (μερίς or μοῖρα), and thus appears aimed at fostering the equal participation of the honorand in the community's rites."[81] In civic terms this comes very close to granting a person citizenship, comparable to the way Macedonian monarchs were imagined to become citizens to the communities in whose sacrifices they directly or indirectly participated. As with the monarch, it was recognized that the physical presence of an individual honorand was not always possible or practicable, resulting in their portions being sent to them if they happened to be absent: "Sending a portion of meat at such a remove (…) allowed an absent honorand to be 'present,' […] to figuratively attend and participate in a sacrificial occasion where he or she was invited and honored."[82]

Both Strootman and Carbon emphasize that the development of long-distance networks of interaction and exchange in the Hellenistic World aug-

79 Strootman in this volume, 290–291. On the social entanglement of polis and court in the Hellenistic Aegean see also Strootman 2011.

80 Mari in this volume, 298.

81 Carbon in this volume, 340.

82 Carbon in this volume, 370.

mented a process of 'globalization' in which participation in festivals was key. Where Strootman focuses on the function of feasts for imperial-local negotiations and the integration of local elites into 'global' empires, Carbon brings forward the element of social status enhancement associated with participating in the new, globalized feasting networks, especially for the receivers of portions of meat: "The effort and cost of sending the meat (after salting or pickling it) [...] made it a prestigious honor. It was the perceived symbolic value of the meat that made it all worthwhile."[83] Thus, an 'equal' portion of meat could become a powerful marker of status inequality, through the sheer distance from which it was sent. The globalization of the Greek world that took off after the Macedonian conquest in the East profoundly transformed the way in which polis feasting was conducted.

Following the example of the lavish court banquet, the emphasis on wine and equality at the symposion gradually gave way to a more empowering patronage role for the host, as food was reintroduced and the simple architectural arrangement of the Classical *andron* was abandoned in favor of ever more lavishly designed banqueting halls accentuating the role of the feast. We may agree with Lynch who would consider these changes as a sign of the symposion's resilience as a social institution. While the word 'symposion' remained in use as an emic term throughout the Hellenistic age, it would perhaps be better to avoid using in an etic context, for which the more appropriate 'banquet' (or indeed 'symposium-feast' as Lynch herself has suggested) seems preferable because of the fading segregation between food and drink within such private settings.

The festivals of the gods were equally affected by trends of globalization and changed patronage roles, albeit in a different way. At their core, these festivals remained unaltered, emphasizing group cohesion through shared rites and a share in the sacrificial meat. However, the potential for such festivals—especially those with an interregional appeal—to serve as contact zones between local elites and powerful individuals—the monarch being the prime example—opened the possibility for such individuals to influence local power networks and benefit from many of the political, economic or military advantages previously reserved for members of the local communities.

83 Carbon in this volume, 367.

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CHAPTER 2

Feasting in Early Iron Age Attika: The Evidence from the Site of the Academy

Alexandra Alexandridou

Introduction

In the late 1950s an Early Iron Age architectural complex was excavated at the site later occupied by Plato's Academy (fig. 2.1). According to the excavator, Phoivos Stavropoullos, it served the cult of the local hero Akademos.[1] Although this theory has been discarded, the numerous ash layers discovered in association with the building, as well as its close proximity to burials,[2] prompted scholars to retain its interpretation as a 'Sacred House'.

More than half a century after its discovery, however, a straightforward interpretation of the character and function of the 'Sacred House' still remained problematic as a result of some serious lacunae.[3] Fortunately, the recently completed study of the related ceramic material in combination with the information provided by Stavropoullos' excavation diaries, as well as the small-scale, systematic re-excavation of the architectural remains, succeeded in resolving many of the uncertainties as to the use and function of the Early Iron Age site.

1 Stavropoullos 1956a, 53–54; Stavropoullos 1958a, 9.

2 See in particular Mazarakis Ainian and Alexandridou 2011, 173–176. The authors proposed that the building was used for rituals in honor of the dead buried nearby, rather than in honor of a hero. However, this hypothesis was made when the study of the excavated pottery was still in progress; this conclusion now needs re-evaluation.

3 Phoivos Stavropoullos undertook the excavation of the 'Sacred House'. The results appeared in short excavation reports: Stavropoullos 1955, 53–61; Stavropoullos 1956a, 45–54; Stavropoullos 1956b, 10–13; Stavropoullos 1958a, 5–13; Stavropoullos 1958b, 5–9; Stavropoullos 1959, 8–11; Stavropoullos 1960a, 318–323; Stavropoullos 1960b, 8–10; Stavropoullos 1960c, 33–35; Stavropoullos 1961, 5–13; Stavropoullos 1961–1962, 20–21; Stavropoullos 1962a, 5–11; Stavropoullos 1962b, 5; Stavropoullos 1963, 5–28. I would like here to thank the Ephorate of Athens and especially the archaeologists Th. Eliopoulos and F. Pasadaki for facilitating this study in numerous ways. This study could not be completed without the conservation of the material, undertaken by the conservator Valy Maidou. The complete study of the Early Iron Age Academy will soon be published (Alexandridou, Chountasi, Livieratou & Mazarakis-Ainian).

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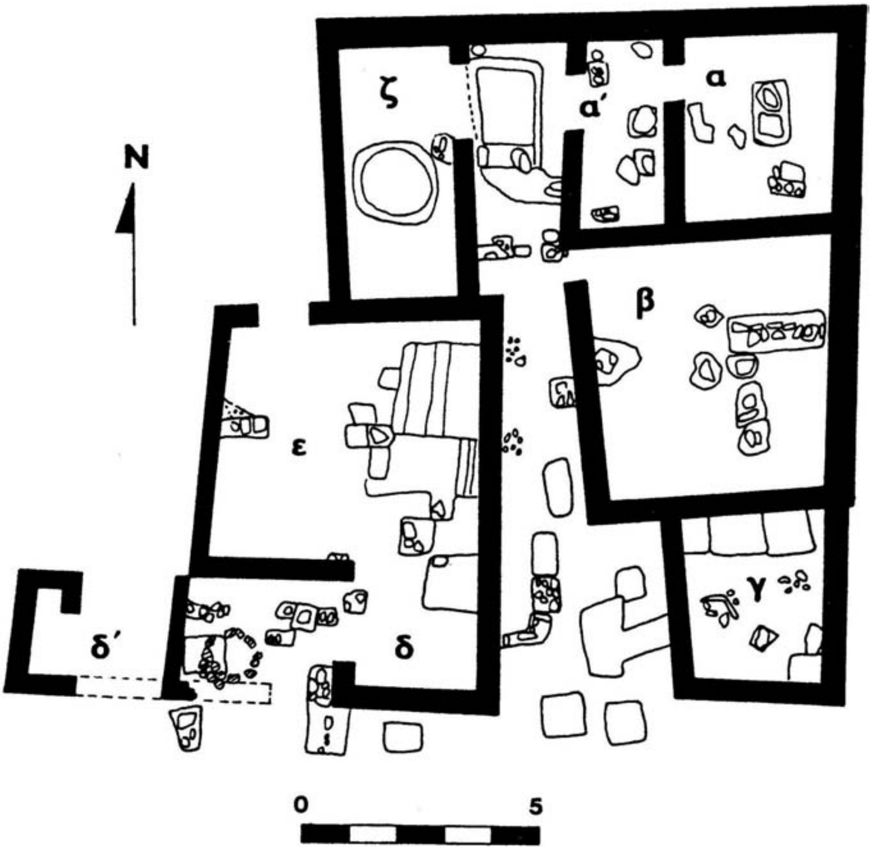

FIGURE 2.1 *Plan of the 'Sacred House' in the Academy*
AFTER MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997, FIG. 132 (BASED ON STAVROPOULLOS 1958A, 6, FIG. 2 AND STAVROPOULLOS 1961, 9, FIG. 4)

As a result of these recent efforts, the site stands to make an important contribution to the study of commensality in eighth-century Attika.

As is stated in the introduction to this volume, feasting is a powerful activity. It can create strong bonds between social groups or promote and enhance kinship ties and political bonds.[4] As such, it played a major role in the life of the Geometric Attic elite.[5] Since the early eighth century (Middle Geometric II), certain aspects of Attic funerary expression increasingly focused on banquet-

4 Hayden 2001; Wright 2004, 172. Cf. the introduction to this volume for more references.

5 The broad term 'Greek elite' is used variously to mean aristocrats, aristocracy, upper class, nobles, etc., and is often without a particular definition. Duplouy provides an overall examination of the problem, focusing on the definition of the elite (Duplouy 2006).

ing. The monumental grave markers in the shape of kraters and more importantly the predominance of drinking forms among the grave goods underline the importance of feasting—and more specifically of wine consumption—for the self-definition of the Early Iron Age elite.[6]

Feasting has been often related with social developments in Early Iron Age Attika.[7] Using Dietler's typology, it has been assumed that from 950 to 850 empowering feasts were the means to acquiring leadership status.[8] Since the middle of the ninth century these would have been transformed into Dietler's patron-role feasts.[9] More recently, it has been suggested that Dietler's diacritical feasts could more appropriately be applied to the developments since 850.[10] According to Dietler, this type of feasting did not aim at a display of wealth or social capital of leaders, rather focusing on style than quantity, differentiating social classes by creating different circles of commensality.[11]

In Late Geometric Attika, it seems that commensality, particularly collective wine drinking, was strictly associated with elite circles, excluding the lower social strata.[12] The feasting connotations in the late eighth-century funerary realm must have reflected contemporary social realities in Attika. The evidence from a number of sites, suggests the existence of a number of feasting communities, which used feasting for strengthening the bonds between their members, as well as for competing among each other.[13]

This paper focuses on the evidence for feasting in the Early Iron Age Academy and places that evidence in its wider Attic context by comparing the building to a number of contemporary structures, which have similarly been assigned a banqueting use and have burials in their vicinity.[14]

6 Więcowski 2012, 29–31; Więcowski 2014, 267–287.

7 See characteristically van den Eijnde 2010; Więcowski 2014, 271–294.

8 Kistler and Ulf 2005.

9 As is argued by van den Eijnde in this volume. For patron-role feasts more generally, cf. Dietler 2001, 82–85.

10 Więcowski 2014, 332.

11 Dietler 2001, 85–88.

12 Więcowski 2012, 37; Więcowski 2014, 78, 325.

13 van den Eijnde 2010, 349.

14 van den Eijnde 2010, 401–403; Laughy 2010, 254–276.

FIGURE 2.2 *The 'Sacred House' from the south*
PHOTO: A. MAZARAKIS AINIAN

The Early Iron Age Remains at the Academy

The architectural remains (fig. 2.2), which lie 2 km northwest of Dipylon, were given the label 'Sacred House' by Stavropoullos after the name already applied to a comparable edifice in Eleusis, which was explored by Kourouniotis some decades earlier.[15] The excavator reconstructed a building consisting of seven compartments, set on either side of a corridor. Rooms α-α' and β' were assigned to the initial architectural phase of the building, followed by compartments ζ, ε, δ, δ', γ, which must have been added later.[16] A number of architectural features were explored, including a rectangular eschara made of mudbricks at the end of the corridor between rooms ζ and α,[17] a circular pit at the center of room

15 Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 150–154; 1999b. For the location of the site: Mazarakis Ainian and Alexandridou 2011, 165, n. 1 with all the relevant references.

16 For the architectural study of the edifice, see Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 140–142, with earlier bibliography. More recently van den Eijnde 2010, 70–78.

17 Stavropoullos 1958a, 8, pl. 4α.

ζ, and a mudbrick-lined trench, composed of two parallel channels, running along the eastern wall of room ε.[18]

A one-day autopsy in the summer of 2014, followed by a small-scale excavation that included an in-depth exploration of several spaces of the building, has shed important new light on the site and its architectural formation.[19] The recent excavation confirmed what the excavation diary and the photos taken by Stavropoullos already seemed to indicate: the first excavation either did not reach or it destroyed the level of foundation and use of the rooms (figs. 2.2–2.3). The 'Sacred House' thus presents a much more complex picture than initially supposed. For one thing, it does not appear to represent a single structure. Its eastern half is composed of a number of rooms (α1, α2, β1, β2 and γ), while the layout of the western half remains uncertain (rooms ε, δ). The reconstruction of the rooms and their phases proved to be a complicated task, since the majority of the walls mentioned as built of mud bricks do not seem to have been correctly identified by the excavator. Three main architectural phases have been discerned, spanning the eighth century. The megaron-like unit, formed of rooms α1/α2, as well as room ζ were rightly recognized and represent the latest of these phases. On the contrary, the architectural form of rooms ε and δ remains uncertain, the recent excavation failing to clarify this picture.[20]

The round pit inside room ζ seems to belong to a later phase of activity at the site. It might have been a *bothros* or even a burial pit, similar to the ones that were excavated in the immediate surroundings. The rectangular 'eschara' at the northern extremity of the 'corridor' blocks the entrances to both rooms α1–α2 and ζ and might represent an earlier mud brick structure.[21]

Except for some isolated Late Protogeometric fragments and a limited number of vases of the first half of the eighth century, the bulk of the ceramic material that can be related to the architectural remains spans the second half of the century. On the basis of the recent data, the earliest phase of the struc-

18 Stavropoullos 1958a, 8. For an industrial use of the bothros and the trench, see Lauter 1985, 159–160.

19 This autopsy was conducted on the 23rd of June 2014 by Alexandros Mazarakis Ainian and the present author, assisted by the archaeologist George Chiotis, who prepared the plans of the edifice with the use of a total station with the permission of the Ephorate of Athens. The excavation of the architectural remains was conducted by the Ephorate of Athens and the archaeologist Dr. Maria Chountasi in collaboration with A. Mazarakis Ainian and the present author under the direction of E. Banou in March of 2015. It lasted only 14 days.

20 The architectural study is done by A. Mazarakis Ainian (Alexandridou, Chountasi & Mazarakis Ainian forthcoming).

21 Mazarakis Ainian forthcoming.

FIGURE 2.3 *Fragments composing one of Stavropoullos's 'pyres'*
PHOTO: A. ALEXANDRIDOU

tures should be placed to the middle of the eighth century, while they remained in use until the very end of the century or the transition to the seventh century B.C.

The excavator assigned a 'sacred' character to these remains due to the pyres he detected both in- and outside the excavated walls. According to Stavropoullos, the cult was addressed to the local hero Akademos and inaugurated upon the accidental discovery of the Early Helladic apsidal by the Early Iron Age residents of the area who regarded it as the hero's dwelling.[22] Moreover, he assumed that Akademos' grave was located under the 'Sacred House,' attracting public sacrifices from the eighth century onward, which expanded in the wider area of the grave.

These pyres—the excavator's θυσίαι—have been published in detail in *Praktika* of 1958, where their cultic character was presented as beyond any doubt. According to the excavation report, the pyres consisted of layers containing ash, charcoal, animal bones, and vase fragments of various forms. They were cov-

22 Stavropoullos 1956a, 53–54; 1958a, 8–9.

ered by thin layers of clean earth and marked by two or more large unworked stones, which were sometimes set in rows. In some cases, the pyres consisted of at least four layers of ash.[23] In contrast to this strict definition presented in 1958, Stavropoullos, in his excavation diary, applied the term 'pyre' to every isolated stone or row of stones placed over burnt soil.[24] In fact, when he began exploring these burnt remains, he was not even sure whether they represented pyres or cremation burials.[25]

However, the excavation diary, and more importantly, the recent excavation challenge Stavropoullos' initial interpretation. On the basis of the excavation's results, the entire north and east 'Sacred House' seems to rest upon a horizon consisting of a layer of thin ash, while several earlier ash layers of this type are present all over the explored area at a deeper level. It has also become evident that these ash layers do not represent some type of cultic action, but rather cooking activity, as is also indicated by a hearth discovered inside room β. The evidence from the interior of several oval and apsidal Geometric edifices at Oropos in northeastern Attika, where ash layers deriving from the constant cleaning of central hearths appear between floor levels, further strengthens this argument.

Moreover, the stones, interpreted by Stavropoullos as markers of his 'pyres', in fact proved to be parts of stone walls or structures, and belonged to the upper levels of the 'Sacred House,' some perhaps even representing a post-Geometric abandonment level. Indeed, the excavator's plans of the 'Sacred House' during the early stages of the exploration of its compartments include various stone features, which were removed by the excavator. The cultic character of Stavropoullos' pyres, furthermore, is contradicted by the nature of the related ceramic assemblages. The burnt layers contained isolated fragments or small sherds of different vases rather than more or less complete vessels as the excavator's published description leads us to believe (fig. 2.3). In short, the sherds associated by the excavator distinct pyres, could not have come from a such a closed context.

The revision of the old data, in combination with the new evidence from the site, has led to the de-sacralization of the 'Sacred House,' which rather seems

23 Stavropoullos 1958a, 7–8.

24 The pyres explored in room β are a typical case. The layers of ash are not mentioned, but the excavator focuses on the large blocks that were placed over burnt soil either individually or in rows. Excavation Diary 04.10.1958, 306–308, plan on p. 309. For a detailed account of the finds of each pyre, see Excavation Diary 16–18.10.1958, 319–320.

25 See several references in the diary, such as descriptions concerning the pyres of room γ: Excavation Diary 28–29.05.1958, 250; 30.05.1958, 252.

FIGURE 2.4 *Spindle whorls from the interior of the Academy House*
PHOTO: A. ALEXANDRIDOU

to represent the remains of more than one domestic structures within a wider habitation nucleus, as is also indicated by other edifices in its immediate vicinity.[26] The numerous spindle whorls further support such a domestic use of the structures (fig. 2.4). As I will show in the next section, the related ceramic material points to communal feasting and drinking activities, rather than 'sacred' activities.

The Archaeological Traces of Feasting

The large quantities of Early Iron Age pottery and more specifically the abundance of particular vase shapes are the key to reconstructing the activities

26 A partly preserved small, rectangular building was excavated east of the 'Sacred House': Excavation Diary 16–21.6.1958, 259; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 143; van den Eijnde 2010, 79. Due to its architectural form and its close association with the Academy House, it has been assigned a ritual character, which cannot be sustained by the existing evidence.

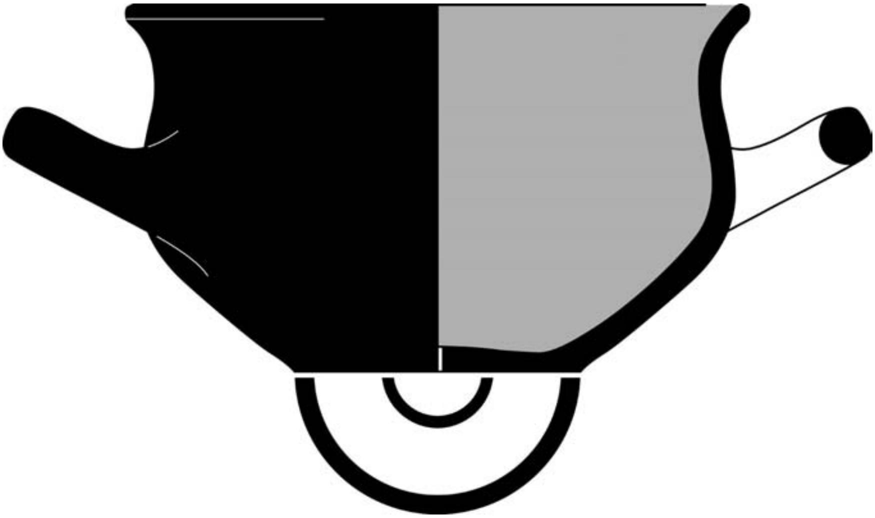

FIGURE 2.5 *Glazed skyphos*
DRAWING: Y. NAKAS

that took place at the site. None of them can be assigned any special ritual or funerary role. On the contrary, their primary domestic function cannot be questioned. They are clearly related to food preparation and consumption, with the large closed vessels serving storage needs. More particularly, the kraters and the drinking forms provide a rather firm basis for reconstructing feasting activities that included numerous participants, as is indicated by the quantity of the material.

Drinking shapes dominate with the skyphos being the most common form. The skyphoi belong to a variety of types. If not entirely glazed (fig. 2.5),[27] they bear linear decoration. High-rimmed skyphoi, one-handled cups, kotylai, and kantharoi complete the range of drinking shapes from the site.

The banded amphora is the second most common shape at the site after the skyphos (fig. 2.6).[28] This type of amphora was used to bury children (*enchytrismoi*), examples of which were discovered close to the edifice, while many complete examples have been placed inside a number of deep pits, possibly after

27 For some parallels, see Young 1939, 73, XIV 2, fig. 46, 154, C 43, fig. 106; Kübler 1954, pl. 100; Brann 1961, 134, pl. 19.O 24, O 25; Brann 1962, 48, nos. 136–139, pl. 8.

28 For the banded amphorae, see Brann 1962, 34; Kourou 2002, 15–16; Papadopoulos and Smithson 2002, 170–171; Simantoni-Bournia 2009, 153–154, n. 3; Jarosch-Reinhardt 2009, 95, no. 56.

the redeposition of child urn burials.[29] Even if some of the examples from the interior of the house represented urn burials (as mentioned in the excavation diary),[30] the large quantities of amphora fragments support a primary domestic function. They could have been used to carry water from the wells as well as for the storage of wine or other liquid and dry products. Indeed, many of them bear repair holes. The abundance of this shape in the Late Geometric wells of the Athenian Agora is an additional argument for domestic use.[31] The banded amphorae from the Academy are accompanied by banded hydriai and jugs.

Besides the amphorae, spouted and non-spouted kraters of the low-footed type were discovered in large quantities (fig. 2.7). Their decoration is of high quality. With the exception of the evidence from the Geometric settlement of Oropos,[32] kraters of this type are very rare in contemporary Attika. Thus, the high number and the rich and varied decoration of the Academy kraters make this assemblage unique. A few Late Geometric kraters come from the necropolis of the Kerameikos,[33] while the shape is very poorly represented in contemporary Attic sanctuaries.[34] On the other hand, a number of spouted and non-spouted kraters come from the wells of the Athenian Agora.[35] The large concentration of kraters in association with the 'Sacred House' at the Academy, especially when considered with the evidence from the Agora and in particular Oropos, underlines the importance of the shape in a domestic context in the second half of the eighth century. Interestingly, kraters are completely absent from the burials excavated in close proximity to the structures. Instead, the main corpus comes from the fill over the edifice's rooms.

29 For the burials and the pits near the Academy House, see below.

30 The neck of a banded amphora and a broken skyphos next to it came to light over compartment δ. Another example, containing small vases, was detected at the corridor near the eschara.

31 Brann 1960, 115–116; Brann 1962, 34. See the examples from the Athenian Agora: Young 1939, 185, C146, fig. 135; Brann 1962, nos. 29–36, pl. 3.

32 Vlachou 2010, 211–232.

33 For a statistical evaluation of the kraters in the Early Iron Age Kerameikos, see Bohen 1997, 49, fig. 3.

34 The examples from the peak sanctuary on Mt. Hymettos are limited to the Protogeometric period; see Langdon 1976, 55–56, nos. 192–195, pl. 17. Late Geometric open shapes from Mt. Hymettos are limited: Langdon 1976, 77–78 and n. 9.

35 Brann 1960, 101, pl. 17, M 7, P 12, I 21; Brann 1962, 42–44, nos. 91–104.

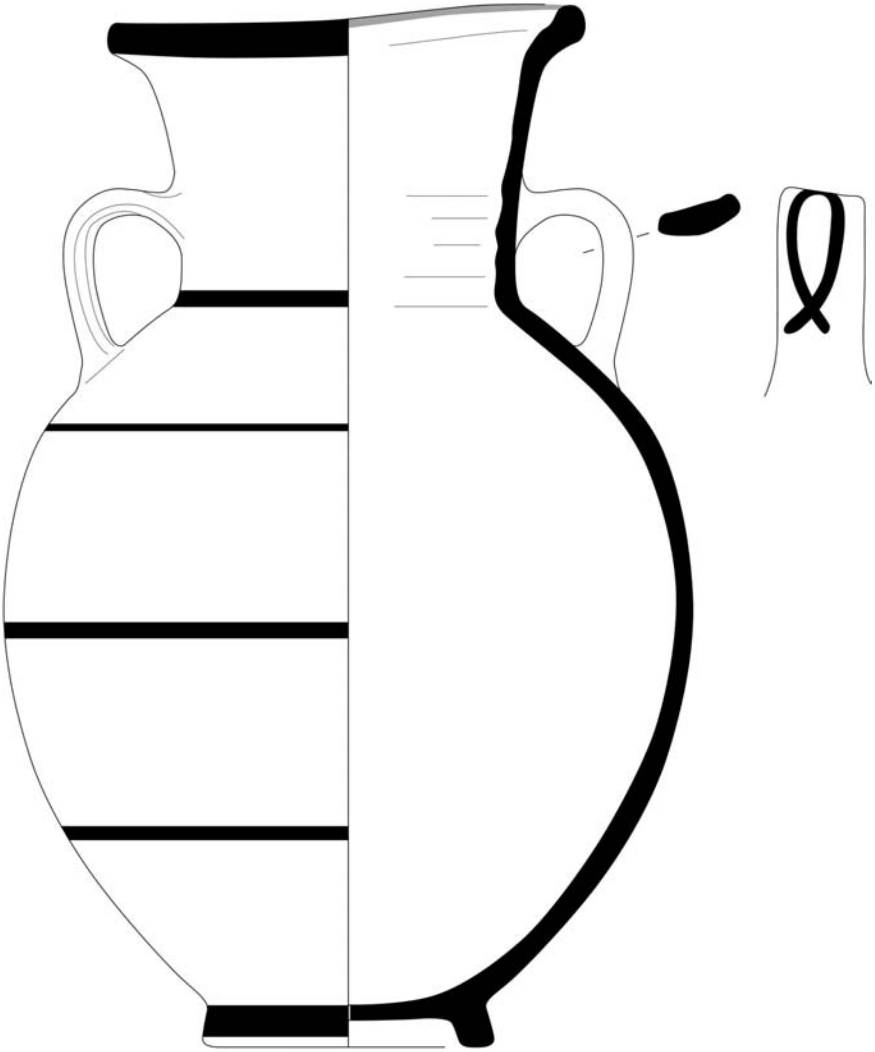

FIGURE 2.6 *Banded amphora*
DRAWING: Y. NAKAS

The kraters from the Academy are not only numerous, but also richly decorated. This shape, the focal point of feasting, acted as a symbol of male aristocracy already in Homer.[36] The krater occupied a prominent position among the ceramic assemblages of a number of Early Iron Age sanctuaries serving com-

36 Murray 1994, 47–54; Crielaard 1999, 64; Węcowski 2014, 55–81. For the symposion in Homer,

FIGURE 2.7 *Fragmentary Late Geometric spouted krater*
DRAWING: Y. NAKAS

munal banqueting.[37] Fine examples, which were not votive dedications, but sympotic utensils, were attested at the sanctuaries of Kolonna on Aigina,[38] of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria,[39] and of Poseidon at Isthmia.[40] By comparison, the spouted kraters were most likely used for feasting as well. Even though the archaeological context of the Attic examples indicates that the shape could serve a special funerary function, most possibly linked to purification activities,[41] its presence at contemporary sanctuaries, like Kolonna,[42] or settlements, like Oropos,[43] rather points to a banqueting use. The shape could have been used for mixing wine with water.[44] The fact that some of the Academy exam-

see Wecowski 2002. Cf. the contributions by van den Eijnde, Vlachou and Lynch in this volume.

37 See most recently Gimatzidis 2011.

38 Jarosch-Reinhardt 2009, 123–142, nos. 290–471, figs. 12–19, pls. 27–41.

39 Mazarakis Ainian 2006, 199; Verdan 2001, 87; Verdan 2012, 180, 208–209.

40 Morgan 1999, 272, 315–326, 432–433.

41 For the funerary use of the shape, see Ginouvès 1962, 244–246; Callipolits-Feytmans 1965, 42–43; Alexandridou 2011, 36; and most recently Alexandridou (2015). For the shape's use in association with the Menidi tholos tomb, see Wolters 1898, 1899; Callipolits-Feytmans 1965, 43–65; Boehringer 2001, 96–97.

42 Jarosch-Reinhardt 2009, 58–60. The Late Geometric examples from the sanctuary have been interpreted as water carriers, necessary for the handwashing by the participants in the communal feasting.

43 Brann 1962, 42–44, nos. 91–104; Charalambidou 2008, 81; Vlachou 2010, 109. For the chthonic connotations of the shape, see Alexandridou 2011, 13; Mazarakis Ainian and Alexandridou 2011, 130.

44 Alexandridou 2015; van den Eijnde 2010, 221–223.

FIGURE 2.8 *Fragmentary basin*
PHOTO: A. ALEXANDRIDOU

ples were lids might indicate that they were used not only for mixing but also for carrying the wine, which was later poured into the krater to be mixed.

Numerous lekanai (wash basins) were found at the site (fig. 2.8). This multifunctional shape is well attested in the Agora,[45] as well as in the settlement of Oropos,[46] but is extremely rare in contemporary necropoleis.[47] Moreover, its domestic function is known from later sources.[48] Like the banded amphorae, many of the lekanai were repaired. The high presence of cooking ware completes the picture of the domestic assemblage from the site, further testified by the faunal remains.[49]

45 For the shape and its development: Young 1939, 206; Brann 1962, 46.

46 Charalambidou 2008, 57–61; Vlachou 2010, 178.

47 At the site of the Academy, a single lekane sealed the broken belly of one of the seven urns on the top of the Early Helladic edifice. According to the excavator, the urn contained an adult secondary cremation: Excavation Diary 20.10.1956, 20, fig. 111; Stavropoullos 1956a, 50.

48 Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 211, n. 1; Lüdorf 2000, 10. For the function of the shape, see Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 211–216; Lynch 2011, 156. The shape appears in sympotic scenes on sixth- and fifth-century Athenian vases: Lüdorf 2000, 11, n. 60. See also Cohen and Shapiro 2002, 89.

49 Dr. Katerina Tranalidou studied the bones from the site.

The Academy in an Attic Feasting Context

Turning to the wider Attic context, a number of edifices in Athens and the Attic countryside seem to have served as dining halls and may be compared with the Academy.[50] Building A, located south of the Classical Tholos in the Athenian Agora,[51] is associated with a Late Geometric family burial plot.[52] The building consisted of a number of closed rooms and courtyards and it seems to have been in use for a short period of time from ca. 700 to the middle of the seventh century. Because the building shares a wall with the cemetery, the relationship between the two features has been interpreted as intentional, bearing strong symbolic connotations. It could have been the residence of a family group whose predecessors were buried in the necropolis. Moreover, its southwest part is large enough to have operated as a banqueting hall, accommodating a large number of participants—members of a kinship group—who through means of commensality attempted to sustain their relationship with the deceased of the neighboring plot.[53] Unlike the evidence from the Academy, the pottery found in the building is rather limited. The foundation level contained a number of plates and bowls, while some closed vessels came from its filling.[54] The abundance of the Academy drinking and mixing shapes is here absent.

The Geometric oval building on the north slope of the Areopagos must have been the residence of an important Athenian family, too. Although initially interpreted as a house,[55] it has been linked with a cult addressed to the dead ancestors due to its proximity to a rich Early-Middle Geometric I burial plot.[56] Its function remained in question until very recently and it was almost exclusively dependent on the interpretation of the Protoattic deposit found over it.[57] The re-examination of the diaries and the entire body of evidence succeeded in relating the deposit with the neighboring Eleusinion and disassociating it from the oval building, which had been originally recognized as a house. The building was constructed in the Late Geometric period with a series of small rooms

50 Alexandridou 2017. For a list and a first analysis of these buildings, see van den Eijnde 2010, 349–350, 401–403; Laughy 2010, 254–276.
51 Thompson 1940, 3–8; Brann 1962, 110.
52 Young 1939.
53 van den Eijnde, 2010, 110.
54 Brann 1962, 128, deposits H 12:8 and H 12:17, respectively.
55 Burr 1933, 636–640. See also Fagerström 1988, 44–46.
56 See especially Thompson 1968, 60; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 17, n. 50; Coldstream 1977, 30; Whitley 1994, 225; D'Onofrio 2001, 257–320. On the burials: Smithson 1968, 1974.
57 Burr 1933.

built against its southern wall later in the eighth century and renovated in the first quarter of the seventh century.[58] The deceased of the Areopagos Geometric plot should be members of the same family residing in it.[59] Remains of walls south of the oval building show that it was part of a larger architectural complex.[60] The edifice must have operated as a banqueting hall, while the southern rooms served for storage and food preparation.[61] The pottery associated with the building's period of use is limited, including fragments of oinochoai and drinking shapes.[62] The discovery of a hearth and a quern, in combination with the absence of material that could be assigned a ritual character, further strengthen the interpretation of the edifice as a residence. A Middle Geometric wealthy family of special importance probably resided in the Oval House. Its members could have organized communal feasting activities, possibly with ritual elements, addressed to the important deceased family members buried close to it.[63] The reconstruction of the activity inside the Oval House and its relation to the nearby graves makes sense, even though it is not unequivocally supported by the ceramic evidence.

A quite recent find stands closer to the case of the Academy. Part of a monumental apsidal edifice came to light in 2001 at Herakleidon Street in the center of modern Athens, within the Classical city wall, close to the Peiraeus Gate (fig. 2.9).[64] The building must have been constructed in the Protogeometric period, but it remained in use until the end of the eighth century. A Protogeometric pit, which contained fragments of fine decorated one-handled cups and krater-bowls, burnt animal bones, and seashells, was attached to the external face of the wall of the building. Four Late Geometric II child burials in urns were excavated close to the pit. Moreover, a cremation of the trench-and-hole type of the Early or Middle Geometric period came to light 50 m from the house. The dimensions and architectural features of the apsidal edifice indicate that it was an important structure that served as a residence. The ceramic material, mostly dating to the second half of the eighth century, shows close affinity with that from the Academy, indicating that the building could also have accommodated

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58 van den Eijnde and Laughy 2017.

59 Laughy 2010, 259, 263–264, 282–290.

60 Burr 1933, 547–551; Laughy 2010, 256–257.

61 van den Eijnde and Laughy 2017.

62 Burr 1933, 554–557.

63 Laughy 2010, 263–264, 276.

64 For the preliminary presentation of the edifice, see Eliopoulos 2001–2004. The more detailed information presented here was kindly provided by the excavator of the building Konstantinos Papayannakis, to whom I am grateful.

communal feasting activities. According to the excavator, the trench-and-hole cremation dictated this site for the building's construction, meaning that the banqueting might have been related to the deceased.

Outside Athens, the most characteristic case of a building in close proximity to burials is the rectangular building excavated within the West Necropolis of Thorikos (fig. 2.10).[65] The building, which had two phases, included a main room (III) and a closed porch (XXVI). The construction and main period of use of room III should be placed in the Early Geometric period. By the end of that period, it was damaged by fire and abandoned.[66] By the second half of the eighth century, the unit had been repaired and reused. At that time, Unit XXVI seems to have been added to the architectural plan.[67] A square hearth (88) was found filled with vegetal ashes mixed with earth at the center of the room.[68] A small number of Late Geometric vessels, including drinking shapes and three coarse jugs,[69] belong to this period of the room's use. A louterion (spouted krater), which could be almost entirely reconstructed, was found in situ at the southeast corner of the doorway of the north wall of the room.[70] The unit must have been in use for a limited period of time, extending from the third quarter of the eighth to the transition to the early seventh century as indicated by the urn burial 87, which destroyed its southeastern corner.[71]

According to the excavators, the explored units represent part of a habitation quarter situated within a necropolis without any ritual or funerary connotations.[72] Yet, the louterion at the doorway between rooms XXVI and III has been interpreted as indicating chthonic use.[73] The building's isolation has been presented as an extra argument in favor of such an interpretation, related to the cult of the ancestors by a group of kinsmen.[74] Nevertheless, except for the

65 Study of the excavation diaries and of the ceramic material associated with this unit allowed a number of supplementary observations concerning its use. I would like to warmly thank Prof. Roald Docter, the director of the Thorikos excavations, for the permission to access the diaries and the archives of the excavation, kept today at the University of Ghent.

66 Bingen 1967a, 31, 34; Bingen 1967b, 36; Coldstream 1977, 70; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 147.

67 Bingen 1969, 102–109; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 146–147.

68 Bingen 1969, 104.

69 TC 66.225, TC 66.226, TC 66.307. Bingen 1969, 105–106. See also Gros 2007, nos. 125, 126, and 121. TC 66.307 is wrongly mentioned in the report as a chytra.

70 TC 65.655. Bingen 1967b, 48, figs. 57–58; Bingen 1969, 104–105. Excavation Diary, 115.

71 Bingen 1969, 107.

72 Mussche 1974, 25.

73 Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 147.

74 van den Eijnde 2010, 260–261.

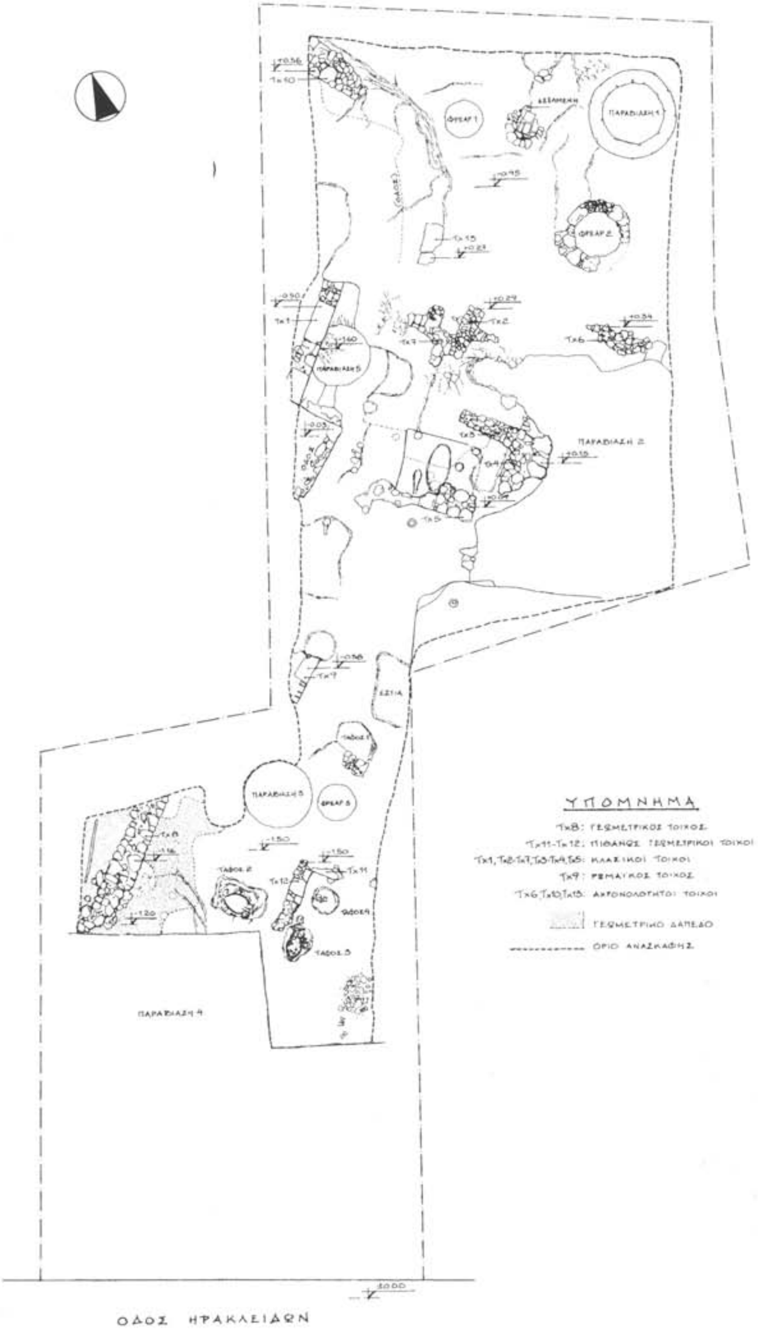

FIGURE 2.9 *The plan of the partly recovered apsidal building on Herakleidon Street*
AFTER *ΑΔ* 56–59, 2001–2004, *ΧΡΟΝΙΚΆ*, B1, 215, FIG. 12

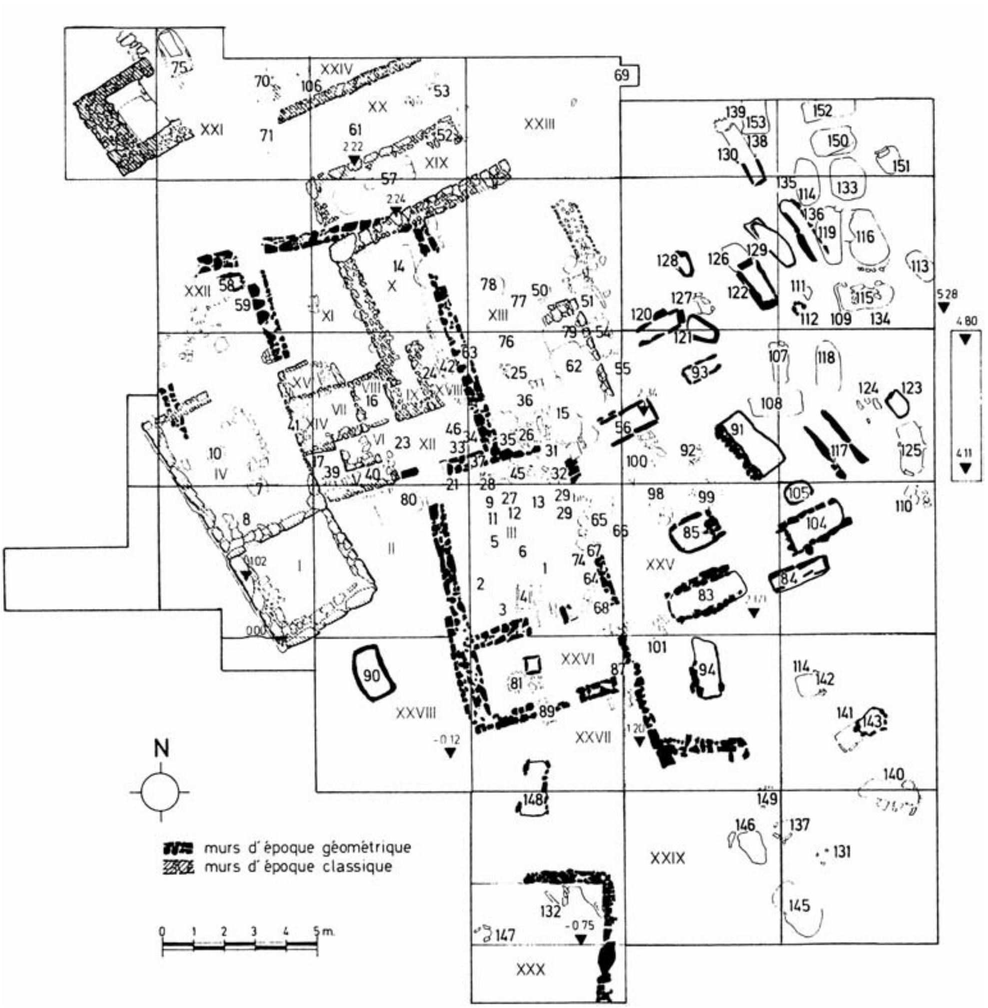

FIGURE 2.10 *Building III/XXVI in the West Necropolis of Thorikos*
BINGEN 1967B, PL. 6

spouted krater, which seems to be a piece of particular value destined for a specific function, the rest of the pottery and the hearth indicate domestic activities taking place in these units.

The examined unit must have been constructed at the same time or slightly earlier than the earliest Late Geometric burials.[75] It is possible that a group of large Late Geometric II graves, clustered to the south near unit XXVI, could have

75 Use of the area around the house as a burial ground began already in the last quarter of

contained family members representing the last occupants of this habitation quarter. The louterion seems to have been set by the doorway of the unit at the time when the earliest burials appeared in the vicinity of the building. The individual character of the Thorikos find and its placement might indicate that it was meant for cleansing and purifying the living to protect them from the pollution deriving from a close association with the dead.

Unlike the evidence from Thorikos, the 'Sacred House' of Eleusis can be securely interpreted as a cultic edifice, serving an ancestor cult.[76] The late eighth-century inhumation of a male aged around 30 years old, which seems to have been placed in front of his dwelling and was subsequently covered by a tumulus, formed the center of this cult. A number of sacrificial pyres placed over the tumulus and the 'Sacred House,' which contained large vessels with sacrificial remains, honor an individual, tentatively identified as a priest related to the Eumolpid family.[77] Eleusis provides a unique case of ancestor cult, with a recently departed adult being transformed into a 'true hero' venerated for a long period after his death.[78]

Elsewhere in Attika, a number of smaller structures found in association with burials have been assigned a chthonic character. The small building, excavated in the northwest area of the extensive necropolis of Ag. Panteleimon at Anavyssos, is a characteristic case. The building contained a freestanding stone base in the middle of the first room and a stone bench along the western wall of the second. According to the excavator, it was in use for 200 years. However, due to the reuse of the building in the fourth century, no pottery survived, which could secure any conclusions on its longevity.[79] The funerary character of the building has been assumed due to its association with adjacent burials. However, unlike its counterparts at the Academy and Thorikos, the building does not seem to predate the burials. The presence of the bench and the stone base led to the suggestion that the building housed cultic activities of a chthonic character, as implied by the fact that the floor level of room 1 is slightly lower than that of room 2.[80] Nevertheless, such a ritual use remains still uncertain. Alternatively, the building has been interpreted as a banqueting hall used by

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the ninth century. Grave 58 close to the northeast corner of room XXII is the only burial dating to the last quarter of the ninth century. Bingen 1967b, 38–42; Coldstream 1977, 70.

76 Lauter 1985, 163–169; Travlos 1983, 333–336; Mazarakis Ainian 1999a, 28–32; 2004, 136; Antonaccio 1995, 190–191; Boehringer 2001, 60–63.

77 Travlos 1983, 333–335; Boehringer 2001, 111–112; Mazarakis Ainian 2004, 136.

78 van den Eijnde 2010, 397.

79 Themelis 1973–1974, 109–110.

80 Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 82–85, 145.

a kinship group for feasting to honor the ancestors buried in the necropolis.[81] Even though the bench could support this view, the absence of any material does not allow for deducing the character of the building and reconstructing the activities that might have taken place in its interior.

In the Attic Mesogeia plain, small structures detected on top of tumuli have been interpreted as funerary structures dedicated to an ancestor cult. Examples are known from Palaia Phokaia[82] and Merenda.[83]

Feasting at the Academy: Who and Why?

Despite their spatial connection with burials, the above-discussed buildings do not share the same functions. A cultic use can be securely assumed only for the 'Sacred House' of Eleusis. The funerary nature of the structures at Anavyssos and the Attic Mesogeia are beyond doubt, but the specific nature of the activities they housed remains unclear. On the other hand, the Areopagos oval building, the Herakleidon monumental edifice, and the Thorikos unit represent domestic complexes that, once abandoned, saw burials installed in their surrounding area. Since they were contemporary with the latest graves of the attached funerary enclosure, the banqueting activities assigned to Building A of the Agora might have been related to the neighboring deceased.[84]

Among its Attic counterparts, only the structures at the Academy revealed large quantities of ceramic material, which allowed a more secure reconstruction of their function not only as residences, but also as venues for communal eating and drinking.

But who resided there and organized these activities? The Academy structures fit well in the Athenian model of dispersed habitation, formed of small hamlets.[85] These habitation clusters must have been occupied by kinship groups, which aimed at being spatially clearly defined.[86] A kinship group should be understood as a unit of social organization, expanding beyond the nuclear family.[87] Unlike other regions, where the Early Iron Age kinship-corpo-

81 van den Eijnde 2010, 86.

82 Kakavogianni 1984, 43–45.

83 The South Building Complex near the extensive Geometric necropoleis has been assigned a ritual use; see Kakavogianni 2008, 58–59.

84 van den Eijnde 2010, 338, 349, 405.

85 D'Onofrio 2007–2008.

86 Whitley 1991, 62–64.

87 For its association with genos, see Whitley 1991, 66; Bourriot 1976, 831. For the Attic genos,

rate groups can be approached via a domestic perspective,[88] in Attika they can be mostly traced through the burial record of the second half of the eighth century.[89] The marked rise in the number of burials and the high degree of funerary variability, unprecedented in earlier periods, seem to reflect the efforts made by the kinship groups, seeking a wider representation for their members in the necropoleis.[90] The Academy is the only site to provide precious evidence for the domestic activities of an Athenian kinship group during the Late Geometric era. The quantity and the quality of the vessels, notably of the kraters, are indicative of the high social status of the participants and the wealth invested in feasting. Moreover, the large concentration of storage banded amphorae points to a food surplus, required for feasting.[91]

On what occasions were these held? Feasting has been defined as a social event related to crucial moments in a human's life, like birth and death.[92] In the case of the Academy, Stavropoullos proposed that the local hero Akademos was venerated inside the 'Sacred House' without providing any supporting evidence. In the same line of thought, the remains of the Early Helladic edifice were very recently thought to have contributed to the development of this cult at the site.[93] Nevertheless, the stratigraphy, as described in Stavropoullos' excavation diary and confirmed by the recent autopsy and excavation, shows that the Early Helladic edifice was already covered by the end of the Early Iron Age.

The evidence from the Academy is characteristic of the complicated relationship between the feasting material and the burials. Indeed, a few burial clusters are found in close proximity to the structures. A group of seven urns occupied a low mound directly on top of the Early Helladic edifice.[94] The burials date to the very end of the eighth century and the transition to the seventh. A disturbed urn burial is mentioned southwest of the prehistoric building,[95] while an adult inhumation inside a large decorated amphora,[96] an adult sec-

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see Lambert 1999. The fundamental studies on the issue of the genos remain Bourriot 1976 and Roussel 1976.

88 The case of Crete is characteristic: Wallace 2010, 271–278, 347–348.

89 On the Late Geometric II funerary rites, see Morris 1987, 122–123, 128; Whitley 1991, 161–166.

90 Alexandridou 2016.

91 Dietler and Hayden 2001, 13.

92 Dietler and Hayden 2001, 4; Hayden 2001, 28–35.

93 van den Eijnde 2010, 67–68.

94 Excavation Diary 15–17.10.1956, 14–15, 20.10.1956, 20, 23.10.1956, 23; Stavropoullos 1956a; Mazarakis Ainian and Alexandridou 2011, 171–172.

95 Excavation Diary 02.04.1957, 149.

96 Excavation Diary 18.9.1957, 171–175; Stavropoullos 1958a, 9, 1958b, 10.

ondary cremation[97] and two (?) more Geometric burials were found northeast of it and the 'Sacred House'. Two Late Geometric II inhumations, as well as some contemporary secondary cremations, were brought to light along the so-called *teichion*, south of the 'Sacred House'.[98] According to the excavation diary and the relevant photos, Stavropoullos excavated some urn burials inside the edifice too and in particular inside the compartments δ and next to the eschara.

These burials led to the assumption that the pyres and the linked ritual practices were addressed to the dead,[99] or that the feasting was related to the dead ancestors.[100] However, the chronological sequence of the pottery from the structures and the burials does not support this. The burials found in the vicinity of the structures are contemporary with the latest phase of use of the structures, while the urn burials in their interior clearly indicate that they must have been abandoned by that time, namely, the very end of the eighth and the transition to the seventh century. Therefore, it is not the burials that could have provided the occasions for these well-attended gatherings. Alternatively, the commensality attested at the site should be linked to the kinship group residing there and its efforts for self-definition and for consolidation of the ties of its members, who shared the same social background, as was probably the case for the oval building at the Areopagos or Building A in the Agora.[101] The feasting taking place at the Academy can thus not be understood as part of an ancestor cult.

Yet, the choice of this particular site for the foundation of these structures seems far from random. A large Protogeometric deposit is located only 150 m southwest of the structures (fig. 2.11). This deposit contained two hundred intact kantharoi and cups, dating from the Late Protogeometric to the late Early or even Middle Geometric period. The vases were placed in stacks over an extensive black layer that contained fragments of the same shapes. The insistence on particular shapes, their positioning, and their chronological span point to some sort of ritual drinking taking place on regular occasions over a long period of time. Who—deity or ancestor—was honored by this activity remains unknown.[102] The vases must have been stacked in this location before being reused on the next occasion. A Late Geometric Ib/IIa burial found over the Protogeometric remains is a good indication that this site was known when

97 Excavation Diary 31.01.1958, 177–178; Stavropoullos 1958a, 9.

98 Stavropoullos 1959, 8–10; 1960a, 318, 320.

99 Mazarakis Ainian and Alexandridou 2011.

100 van den Eijnde 2010, 349–350, 401–403; Laughy 2010, 254–276.

101 van den Eijnde 2010, 335.

102 Mazarakis Ainian and Livieratou 2010.

FIGURE 2.11 *The Protogeometric deposit in the Kokkinogenis plot*
STAVROPOULLOS 1958A, PL. 6A

the edifices were erected. Protogeometric activity can also be reconstructed in the area of the structures, as indicated by the scattered Protogeometric sherds.

Moreover, these compartments seem to have been erected in an area that served as a burial ground during the Middle Geometric period. In particular, a Middle Geometric II cremation burial came to light southwest of the 'Sacred House,'[103] while amphora fragments from the edifice's fill seem to have derived from disturbed burials. A direct link between the Protogeometric deposit, the Middle Geometric graves, and the Late Geometric feasting activity cannot be ascertained with complete certainty. However, the founders, residents, and feasting organizers of the site no doubt were aware of the former ritual and funerary use of the area. The choice of this particular space with these specific past memories must have offered some special connotations to the Late Geometric practices.

The Aftermath

The transition from the eighth to the seventh century marked the abandonment of the edifices at the site of the Academy and its related banqueting

103 Excavation Diary 26.8.1961.

FIGURE 2.12 *An urn burial excavated within the limits of the Academy House*
PHOTO: ARCHIVES OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

activities. At the same time, the first urns appeared in the interior of the compartments (fig. 2.12) and their adjacent area. Some of the buildings discussed in this paper met the same fate of abandonment and transformation into burial grounds. The Thorikos unit and the apsidal edifice at Herakleidon Street had already been abandoned before the first urn burials appeared within their close limits.

After the demise of these structures, feasting seems to have moved to other spheres of social life. The peak sanctuaries, which played a crucial role in the religious life of the polis, especially in the seventh century, must have seen ritual banqueting, as indicated by the ceramic evidence from this period.[104] These

104 For the peak sanctuaries, see Langdon 1976, 100–106; van den Eijnde 2010, 404.

cult sites seem to have been closely related to the communities of the Attic countryside, which by the end of the eighth century attempted to remain independent from central Athens.[105] Moreover, the abandonment of these 'Sacred Houses,' especially those within the narrow borders of Athens, may be directly connected to the establishment of the cult of Athena on the Acropolis in the middle of the eighth century, which must have provided new conventions for the various Athenian kinship groups.[106]

The transfer of dining activities from the domestic to the cultic sphere is later attested at the settlement of Lathouriza on the southern part of Hymettos in the Attic countryside.[107] The settlement is composed of a small number of mostly one-room houses, clustered around a central open area; most houses date to the seventh century.[108] The earliest and main building of the settlement is the ruler's dwelling. The circular building VIII, the tholos, is the second most important structure, dating to the early sixth century.[109] The complex ruler's dwelling not only served as the living quarters of its occupants, but housed cultic and communal dinners too, which were later transferred to the tholos.[110] The relocation of the banquets, no longer hosted by a local single ruler but incorporated into the cult of the tholos, reflects the social changes experienced by the community, with the declining power of the ruler being replaced by the rise of communal identity within the polis.[111]

Even though commensality continued to play a role in regional cult sites, such as at the peak sanctuaries, where it acquired a religious character, feasting changed its form in early seventh-century Athens. No longer a venue for creating bonds between members of kinship groups and forging communal identities, feasting served as the main medium of display and differentiation of the Athenian elite. Symbolic banqueting, involving specially produced vessels that imitated Oriental banquet sets, became one of the main characteristics of seventh-century burial customs in Athens. The earliest examples in the offering trenches date to the late eighth century. The offering trenches served the new type of feast and included a particular funerary ritual that used fire.[112]

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105 van den Eijnde 2010, 404.
106 van den Eijnde 2010, 343–348; van den Eijnde in the present volume.
107 For the settlement of Lathouriza, see Mazarakis Ainian 1994; 1995; 1997, 116–119, 144–145.
108 Mazarakis Ainian 1995, 155.
109 Seiler 1986, 7–24; Lauter 1985, 43–50; Mazarakis Ainian 1995; 1997, 116–119.
110 Mazarakis Ainian 1995, 153–154; 1997, 238; van den Eijnde 2010, 388–390.
111 van den Eijnde 2010, 393–394.
112 For the offering trenches and the seventh-century burial customs, see Houby-Nielsen 1992, 1996; D'Onofrio 1993; Kistler 1998; Alexandridou 2009, 2013.

The discovery of the offering trench inside room ε might then not be a mere coincidence. The trench is contemporary with the earliest examples from the Kerameikos necropolis and it might have served some ritual-cleansing activity that marked the abandonment of the site.

Despite its limited scale, the recent exploration of the site succeeded in answering a number of questions that remained pending since the first excavation by Stavropoullos. The 'Sacred House' of the Academy can be now replaced by a complex of structures, part of a habitation cluster, inhabited by a kinship group during the second half of the eighth century. Furthermore, the re-evaluation of the evidence offers precious insights into the role of feasting in a domestic rather than a funerary or cultic context of Early Iron Age Attika.

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CHAPTER 3

Power Play at the Dinner Table: Feasting and Patronage between Palace and Polis in Attika*

Floris van den Eijnde

Introduction

This paper investigates the way changes in feasting practice reflect actual social transformations in Attika during the five centuries between the demise of the palatial world and the slow but steady rise of the polis. As the introduction to this volume states, a 'feast' is a technical (etic) term derived from anthropology, denoting a convention of people engaged in extraordinary consumption patterns.[1] The shared consumption of food (commensality) or drink (conbibiality) stands at the core of a feast, and must be non-quotidian, either in quality, quantity, or setting.[2] This emphasis on consumption makes feasting theory a particularly useful heuristic tool to study power structures, especially in societies such as EIA Attika, for which evidence of any kind is scarce.

In Greek culture, the consumption of both meat and wine had pride of place at the feast.[3] In the Homeric world, meat in particular represents much more than a simple means of nourishment. In a premonetary world where livestock functioned as a standard of value, meat symbolized the economic infrastructure necessary to breed, herd, and slaughter.[4] This value is well illustrated by the suitors' attempt to destroy Telemachos's inheritance by consuming, over the course of several years, all his animal wealth, in an attempt to ruin both him and

* I would like to thank Josine Blok and Gunnel Ekroth for commenting on earlier versions of this paper.

1 The seminal work on the anthropology and archaeology of feasting is Dietler and Hayden 2001b. For feasting and early states, see more recently Bray 2003; Hayden 2014a; Hayden 2014b.

2 Commensality is only one aspect of festive consumption, cf. Dietler 2001, 81–82; the consumption especially of mind-altering substances (alcohol, cannabis, peyote, coca leaves, etc.) is essential in many feasts. The word conbibiality was, to my knowledge, first coined by Duden 2005, 247.

3 McInerney 2010; Ekroth 2011; Bakker 2013.

4 For cattle as an economic commodity, see Seaford 2004, 27.

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his house.[5] Meat consumption also entails an essential set of moral and social valuations, explaining the strong religious connotations of meat eating in premodern societies. Consuming meat in the proper way means observing a set of rules to avoid disrupting the order of things; hence the calamitous fate of the men who disregard Odysseus's advice not to kill and eat Helios's oxen;[6] hence also the everlasting preoccupation with the correct execution of the animal sacrifice. Similar considerations of appropriate consumption are attached to wine, as is illustrated by the Polyphemus episode.[7] Most of all, consumption is a means of communication, between a community's leaders and its constitutive members, or between a community and its gods.[8] Agamemnon's status as overlord is neatly emphasized by his control over the sacrifices that are performed inside the Greek camp.[9] Sacrificing animals from his own stock and thereby feeding the army, Agamemnon assumes the role of benefactor as well as that of a priest, performing the Greeks' communal obligations toward the gods.[10]

This view fits in neatly with anthropological scholarship on feasting. Reifying the production, use, control, and distribution of meat, wine and other surpluses, feasts bring into focus the way a society is organized in socioeconomic terms.[11] This organization is particularly well illustrated by the way patron-client roles are enacted at the feast. These roles are based on actual social divisions; identifying them enables a wider discussion about the flow of economic resources, patterns of social exchange, and the organization of political action.[12] While expressions of patronage indicate how a feasting community is organized internally, diacritical distinctions (i.e., who is allowed to participate and who is not?) draw attention to the connection with the world beyond the group.[13] As such, feasts are prime venues for social engineering, both locally and within larger political frameworks. What is more, when studied in a longer historical perspective, *developments* in feasting practices become highly indicative of larger historical *transformations*.[14]

5 Esp. *Od.* 1.374–380, cf. Saïd 1979; Bakker 2013, 36–48.

6 *Od.* 12.297–299; cf. Bakker 2013, 96–113.

7 *Od.* 9.105–567.

8 McInerney 2010, 12.

9 Hitch 2009, esp. 141–143.

10 *Il.* 1.312–317; 2.402–432; 3.267–302; 7.313–323; 19.249–268.

11 Appadurai 1981, 494; Dietler 1996; Dietler 2001. For feasts as a means of mobilizing labor, see Dietler and Herbich 2001; Hayden 2001, 29.

12 Dietler 2001; Dietler and Hayden 2001b, 12–16.

13 Dietler 2001, 85–88; cf. also the contribution by Kathleen Lynch in this volume.

14 Dietler and Hayden 2001a, 16–17; Pollock 2012; Hayden 2014b. Cf. the introduction to this volume, 3.

A growing body of scholarship suggests that such developments took place throughout the Greek Mediterranean from the collapse of the Late Helladic palatial world to the rise of the Greek polis in the Early Archaic period.[15] Attika is certainly no exception to this trend.[16] In this paper, I examine the spatial and functional divergence between ritualized drinking and eating in Early Iron Age and Early Archaic Attika (ca. 1100–600). I will show that meat consumption was gradually transferred to locations consecrated to the gods (*temene*) and was increasingly accompanied by the deposition of votive gifts, while drinking was largely confined to domestic contexts. I ask not only how and why such changes took place, but also what they imply with regard to 1) patronage roles at the feast, 2) diacritical (distinctive) signs and roles marking participants as members of a community, and 3) the wider power structures they reflect, particularly that of the early Athenian polis.

Methods and Terminology

The topographical and chronological boundaries of these questions invite a closer look at the archaeological evidence. Identifying changes in the nature and mode of deposition of certain ceramic types, sacrificial remains, votives, and architecture over an extended period of time, and understanding these variations within their topographical context, allows us to pose and answer an array of questions about the emergence, sustenance, and dissolution of local elite groups and how they interacted. With well over seventy feasting sites identified, (Proto-) Geometric and Early Archaic Attika (ca. 1050–600) is better suited than most other regions to study variations in feasting practices.[17] The historical transformations that I seek to identify are primarily contingent on changing patterns of deposition, indicating a realignment of patronage roles and, consequently, a shift in the way power was organized.

But first we have to ask how we can identify the material 'footprint' of feasting on the ground. Several depositional elements or material corollaries may be used to identify feasting: 1) special serving vessels (i.e., high quality, wine-related, or unusually deposited); 2) equipment and installations facilitating the preparation of food, such as cooking pots and hearths; 3) refuse (e.g., animal

15 E.g., Fox 2012a; Fox 2012b; Gherchanoc 2012 (all with further references).

16 van den Eijnde 2010, 17–24.

17 Of these sites, more than fifty were used regularly and for sustained periods of time; sixteen are of uncertain status, see van den Eijnde 2010.

bones, teeth, ashes); 4) equipment and installations enabling the storage of both solid and liquid foodstuffs; and 5) special-purpose architecture, such as banqueting halls.[18]

Second, it is important to note that while feasting may (and often does) have religious overtones, it is not religious symbolism that makes a feast. The religious nature of a festive gathering may vary from a college frat party (i.e., none at all) to the Orthodox Easter feast, and everything in between. A religious festival is always a feast, but the inverse is not necessarily true. This point needs to be stressed since this paper is concerned with variations in feasting practices, *including* but not limited to their religious content. The distinction between feasting and its religious content is often ignored.[19] More specifically, it is important to distinguish between religious symbolism, which establishes a spiritual link with the divine, and 'sacrality,' defined as 'belonging or having been consecrated to a god.'[20] The sacrality of a feast thus signifies the potential role of the divinity as patron of the feast. For this reason, I am cautious to apply the label 'sanctuary' to many of the EIA feasting sites, since it presupposes what needs to be proven, in particular the sacred nature of the feast and the issue of divine patronage. It is not until sacrality has been established that a site may plausibly be defined as a sanctuary.

In addition to the material corollaries for feasting listed above, we should define those elements that turn a feast into a religious festival, or a feasting site to a sanctuary. The sacred nature of a festive gathering is signaled in particular by 1) special facilities or equipment for sacred rites (altars, cult buildings, cult images, etc.), 2) votive offerings (things dedicated to the gods), 3) an unusual location (mountaintop, cave, etc.), and 4) domestic housing (negative).[21] We should be warned, however, that a clear-cut distinction in the archaeological record between a hearth and an altar, or between a ceremonial vessel and a votive gift is sometimes difficult to ascertain. Furthermore, it may be difficult to distinguish a dwelling from a temple. And how high does a mountaintop need

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18 For a more detailed list of material corollaries, see Hayden 2001, 40–41 and van den Eijnde 2010, 49.

19 The distinction can sometimes be obscured by the use of the word 'cult' in cases where the precise religious content of the feast is difficult (or unnecessary) to identify.

20 I use the word 'sacred' in the sense defined by Blok 2014, 16–17 for *ta hiera*: the "things of the gods," or "things that belong to the gods, manifesting their power, because they have been consecrated by humans." Cf. also the introduction to this volume (11 and n. 42).

21 Domestic contexts are an obvious negative context for sacred feasts, as they suggest human patronage. For a more in-depth listing of the material correlates of cult activity, cf. Pilafidis-Williams 1998; Renfrew et al. 2007; van den Eijnde 2010, 50–53 and table 2.

to be before it becomes inconceivable that humans would live there (especially given the Greek propensity to inhabit acropoleis)?[22] Our best option then is to triangulate between all the variables.

Another potential pitfall concerns identification and preservation. It is clear that some locations are better suited to preserve feasting deposits. Thus, many deposits have been identified in remote places with little soil accumulation, yet they are nevertheless shielded from the effects of erosion. This description applies first and foremost to some of the hilltop sites (e.g., Parnes, Hymettos, Kiapha Thiti, Tourkovouni, etc.) discussed in this paper. There is thus a clear possibility that these sites are overrepresented in our sample. Incidentally, these sites are usually classified as 'peak sanctuaries.'[23] However, since the 'sacred' nature of the deposits—i.e., the consecration of the locality to a divine 'host'—is under scrutiny here, I will, for the moment, forego such qualifications and discuss them first by evaluating the nature of their content, before adding topographical considerations.

Other sites have been discovered serendipitously, as part of a wider investigation into other (often later) remains known from written sources or because these remains were still visible at the time of excavation. Such sites include the Academy, the Athenian Agora (Areopagos north slope), and Sounion, where early deposits were found during investigations of Archaic and Classical remains. This circumstance would seem to result in a bias toward sites that prospered in later times. Yet, some deposits may have vanished or been obscured as a result of later building activity, the prime examples being the Athenian Acropolis and Eleusis. We are thus confronted with a slanted archaeological record, biased in favor of some but also against other sites. This problem is compounded by the fact that settlement sites are sparse throughout this period, making feasting in domestic settings relatively difficult to ascertain, especially in the earlier period (1050–760, see below).

Turning to the evidence, I present a brief overview of Late Helladic feasting to establish a benchmark against which to compare later developments, before moving on to the evidence from the site and period of my focus. The evidence is arranged chronologically according to the various phases suggested by the material itself: Protogeometric-Middle Geometric (1050–760), Late Geometric (ca. 760–700), and Early Archaic (ca. 700–600). First, however, it is instructive to have a closer look at patronage roles in the preceding Late Helladic period.

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22 Note that there is a tendency to label a 'hill' a site that is inhabited and a 'mountain' as a place deemed uninhabitable. Reliance on these terms obviously inspires circular arguments.

23 Langdon 1976, esp. 100–112.

The Mycenaean Feast

In the palatial period feasting and commensality were conspicuously focused on the palace's central hall (megaron).[24] Such spaces were dominated by monumental, circular hearths, expressly designed to host ceremonial banquets. The megaron's conspicuous size and placement within the palace complex, as well as the evidence from Linear B tablets, suggests that commensality in these places involved the consumption of large quantities of meat.[25] Whether such banquets were religious in nature is hard to tell, but there is increasing evidence that animal sacrifice was practiced inside the palaces.[26] It has been rightfully noted, however, that while the main halls appear to have functioned as "localities of veneration," they were not "sanctuaries in the meaning of premises of the gods."[27] This is an important distinction to make in light of the current argument: palatial banquets were hosted by a human ruler (*wanax*) and as such, patronage revolved around him.[28] If the gods were imagined as the recipients of offerings, there is no evidence to suggest that they were conceived of as hosts of the feast.

24 For a general overview of the Mycenaean feast, cf. Wright 2004 (= *Hesperia* 73:2 (2004)). For evidence for burnt animal sacrifice, cf. Whittaker 2006; Weilhartner 2016.

25 While there is no direct evidence for meat preparation on the central hearths of the palace-complexes at Mycenae and Tiryns, there is evidence for meat preparation at both Pylos, Stocker and Davis 2004, and the more modest megaron at Eleusis, Cosmopoulos and Ruscillo 2014; Cosmopoulos 2015, 86–87, 92. For feasting in the Linear B tablets, see Palaima 2004; Nakassis 2012.

26 Stocker and Davis have tentatively proposed that the faunal remains, miniature kylikes and sacrificial (?) tools at Pylos were stored in room 7 because the palace administration may have required "physical proof that the rituals in which these objects were involved had been completed," Stocker and Davis 2004, 73, but see doubts raised by Whittaker 2006, 186 and Weilhartner 2016, 396. Palaima 1995, 629 has suggested that at the time of destruction, the Pylian court may still have been in the process of bringing offerings to Poseidon. While faunal remains found in a drain near Megaron B at Eleusis may represent sacrificial evidence, Cosmopoulos and Ruscillo 2014; Cosmopoulos 2015, 86–87, 92, this has not been universally accepted, Whittaker 2006, 188.

27 Albers 2001, 133. See also Lupack 2010, 265 and Rutherford 2012, 263.

28 For recent discussions about the function of palace and *wanax* during the feast, see Palaima 2004; Nakassis 2012, based on the Linear B tablets from Pylos. For a wider discussion of the role of the palace in maintaining relations with local and regional elites, cf. Palmer 1994. For conspicuous consumption to display power, cf. Bennet and Davis 1999. For palatial sponsorship of feasts, see Bendall 2004.

Worship of the gods has also been attested at two other localities: at small, specialized cult rooms close to the palace and at shrines located further away from the palatial strongholds. While specialized cult rooms were associated with some measure of commensality, their principal focus seems to have been worship, not dining.[29] The cult center in Mycenae, for example, was identified by its large number of votive offerings, not by its faunal remains.[30] Shrines or sanctuaries located further away from the palace have brought to light animal remains in combination with various types of vessels, including kylikes, suggesting that meat was consumed there in a festive setting.[31] Unfortunately, too little is known about the context in which these practices took place to judge whether these 'shrines' were consecrated to the gods or simply represent settings where meat was consumed.[32]

From the available evidence, it would appear that the palatial banqueting halls with their prominently placed hearths represented the most conspicuous venues for meat consumption in Mycenaean society. These hearths should not be confused with later Greek altars, whose prime function was to present animal offerings to the gods. Whatever the religious significance of these hearths, their monumentality and conspicuous placement at the center of the megaron seems to have celebrated the position of the *wanax* as the embodiment of the very economic resources that enabled the feast. Similarly, we should not con-

29 Wright 1994, 55–57; Rutherford 2012, 263–264. Bintliff 2012, 194–195 stresses the relatively small size of Mycenaean cult buildings. A possible hearth was identified in the 'Temple complex' at Mycenae by Moore and Taylour 1999, 10, but although the authors suggest the possibility, there seems as yet to be no clear indication that it was used for cooking. They also offer an alternative explanation: the hearth may have been used to manipulate "the use of light" suggesting "some activity took place during the hours of darkness."

30 Some animal bones and consumption vessels were found inside the Room with the Fresco Complex and the Temple Complex: Moore and Taylour forthcoming; Moore and Taylour 1999, 82–87; cf. Fox 2012b, 50. Finds are mostly of a votive nature, notably the anthropomorphic terracotta figurines, Moore and Taylour 1999, 82–83; for other spaces within the cult center, cf. also French and Taylour 2007. Cf. Whittaker 2006, 185.

31 These sites include Methana/Ayios Konstantinos, Hamilakis and Konsolaki 2004, Phylakopi, Renfrew 1985, Mt Kynortion, Lambrinoudakis 1981, and Mt. Lykaion, Starkovich et al. 2013.

32 Whittaker 2006, 185 has even questioned whether some of the animal remains, such as those found at Methana, represent burnt offerings rather than "waste from the preparation and/or consumption of meat dishes which had been thrown into the fire in order to dispose of it such as one might find in connection with any domestic non-ritual hearth".

fuse the banqueting halls themselves with temples, as it was not the divine to whom these spaces were consecrated. Men, not gods, acted as hosts of the most sumptuous Mycenaean banquets.

Big Men, Big Feasts. The Evidence from EIA Attika (Stage 1)

The first sites to show unequivocal signs of feasting in Attika are Parnes and Hymettos in the Late Protogeometric period (tenth century), located near the summits of the mountain ranges to the north and south of the Athenian plain respectively (fig. 3.1). A cave just below the summit of Mt. Parnes has revealed a layer of ash ca. 100 m^2 and 2 m deep.[33] The ash deposit contained an abundance of metal objects, pottery, and burnt animal bones, apparently of goats and sheep.[34] The great quantity of ash indicates that animal sacrifice was practiced during an extensive period of time.[35] The earliest pottery reportedly dates to the Middle to Late Protogeometric transitional phase (ca. 950) and continues into the sixth century. Protogeometric pottery on Mt. Parnes consists mainly of oinochoai (pouring), krater-bowls (mixing), and kantharoi (drinking), indicating that, besides meat consumption, drinking was a central activity during the proceedings.[36]

The beginning of ritual activity at Hymettos is generally dated to the Late Protogeometric period, although numerous Late Helladic vessels have been retrieved. A deep Sub-Mycenaean bowl, a seeming precursor of the Protogeometric krater-bowls, suggests that the roots of the rituals may be earlier than

33 Mastrokostas 1983, 339. The excavator insists that the cave itself was the altar, but is unclear about the altar's precise location. The Italian résumé of his account says: "Anzi la grotta stessa era un altare" (342). Mersch seems to imply that there are two cult spots, one on the peak and one inside the cave, but this suggestion may well be a misinterpretation of Mastrokostas's very scanty account: Mersch 1996, 167–168, nos. 53.1–2.

34 Mastrokostas 1983; Palaiokrassa 2015.

35 Mastrokostas 1983, 343. I have suggested elsewhere that the traces of walls inside the cave were meant to shield some part of the cave from the elements, cf. van den Eijnde 2012. The aryballoi may have been used to invoke the spirit of the god by pouring oil on the fire, provoking a sudden burst of flames. For this practice, cf. Burkert 1985.

36 It should be kept in mind, however, that there seem to be no specific vessels associated with eating, which appears to suggest that some bowls generally associated with drinking may also have been used to contain food. On the other hand, perhaps non-ceramic (wooden?) plates were used as well.

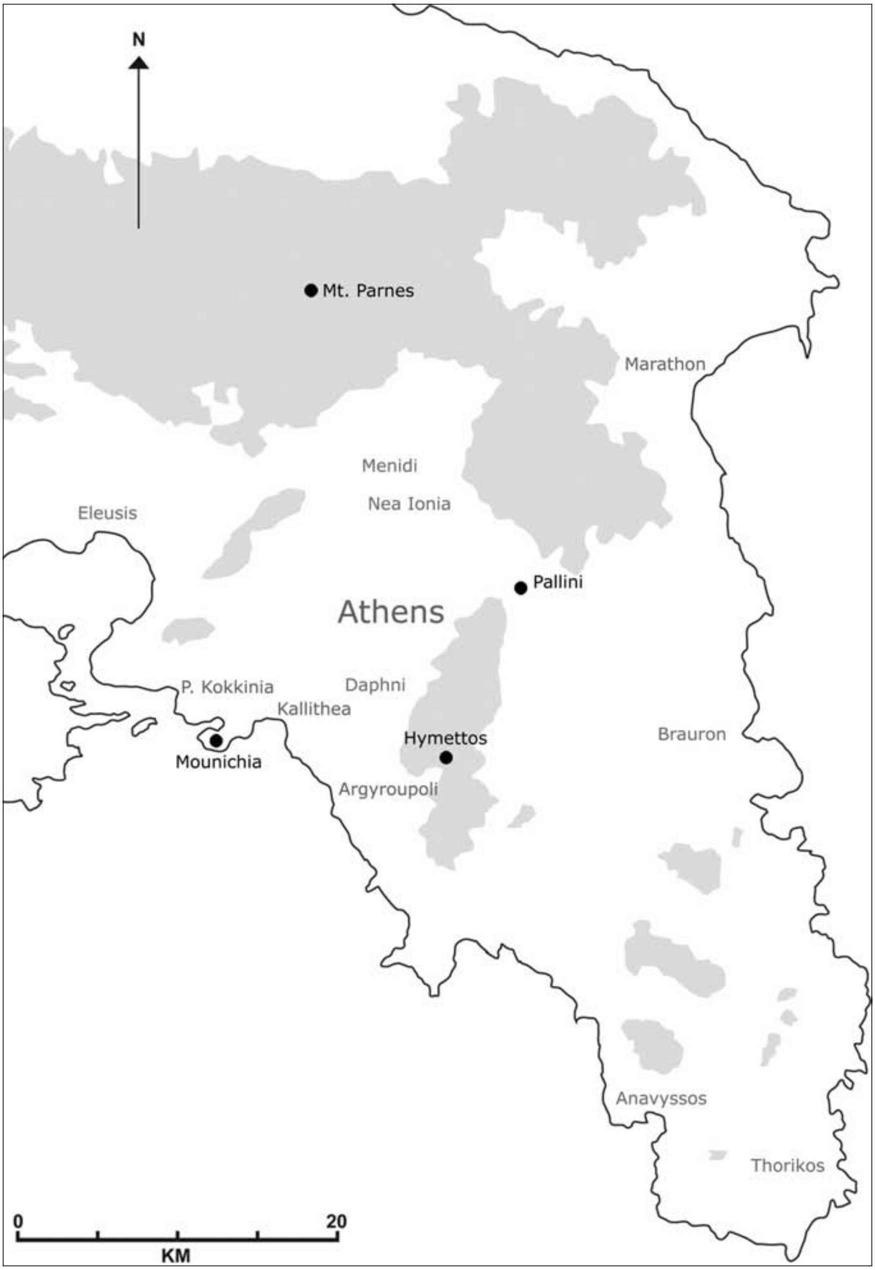

FIGURE 3.1 *Feasting sites in Attika, with contemporary settlements (in gray), ca. 950–760*

TABLE 3.1 *Published pottery from Hymettos, Late Protogeometric to Middle Geometric period*

	LPG	EG	MGI	MGII
cup		3		3
skyphos		1	1	10
krater-bowl	3			
krater	1			
kantharos	1			2
amphora		1		
oinochoe	2	3	2	3
tankard				2
mug				1
TOTAL	7	8	3	21

SOURCE: LANGDON 1976

is commonly accepted.[37] The Protogeometric pottery is mostly confined to the same repertoire of oinochoai, krater-bowls, and kantharoi as at Parnes, though at Hymettos one krater complements the assemblage (fig. 3.2 and table 3.1). In the ninth century (EG-MGI), an amphora, two skyphoi, and some cups were deposited, as well as several oinochoai. The number of skyphoi increases sharply in the early eighth century (MG II), while the closed shapes (oinochoai and jugs) persist. Most vessels were retrieved from an unstratified secondary deposit inside a nearby natural depression. Great quantities of ash and burnt bones were mixed in between the sherds, the pottery itself showing no signs of burning.[38]

A third deposit—on the Mounichia promontory separating the later commercial and military harbors of Piraeus—has yielded evidence for feasting from as early as the Late Protogeometric period. To this period and the ensu-

37 Whitley 1991, 54–55 first suggested that this bowl might be seen as part of the same ritual tradition. For the LH pottery, cf. Langdon 1976, cat. nos. 174–189. Four rim fragments of deep bowls (185–188) date to LHIIIB-C and perhaps allow for an even further extension of the cultic proceedings.

38 Langdon 1976, 77. The pottery within the hollow and over Building C was not stratified, though among the jumble was discovered a row of pots near the bottom (Langdon 1976, 51).

FIGURE 3.2 *Late Protogeometric to Middle Geometric pottery from Mt. Hymettos. Langdon, 1976*
COURTESY AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

ing Early and Middle Geometric periods have been assigned numerous kraters, skyphoi, and cups, as well as krater stands, a kyathos, and (possibly) a kalathos.[39]

A fourth deposit has been uncovered at the site of the later Academy and dates from the LPG-EG transition down to the Middle Geometric I period (late tenth to late ninth century). The deposit consists of some two hundred open vessels—mostly kantharoi (fig. 3.3) and some cups—carefully arranged in rows up to 10 m long and resting on a layer of ash.[40] This type of deposition is reminiscent of the way some vessels were found on Mt. Hymettos.[41] The great number and the chronological scope of the vessels indicate "recurrent visits at this site, where a certain activity repeatedly and perhaps even regularly took place."[42] Kantharoi are primarily known from ceremonial contexts, and we may suppose that here too they were used during some kind of drinking ritual.[43] Interpreting these vessels as ritual is reinforced by the fact that most of the shapes were not glazed, suggesting that they were meant for one-time use only.[44] The ashes and burnt bones indicate that animal sacrifice was also part of the cult proceedings. Even so, it is impossible to judge the cultic occasion during which such vessels would have been used.[45]

In general, the main trend seems to be that evidence for feasting in the LPG and EG periods (ca. 960–850) is sparse, pottery being mostly restricted to kraters (and krater-bowls), skyphoi, and oinochoai. While the sites of Parnes, Hymettos, and Mounichia remained in use throughout the ninth century and beyond, the quantity of the preserved material shows a drop from EG to MG I. Activity at the Academy appears to have ceased altogether in the second half of

39 Palaiokrassa 1989, 12–16 and 28–30; Palaiokrassa 1991, 65; Palaiokrassa 2015.

40 Stavropoullos, *Prakt* (1958), 8–9.

41 Langdon 1976, 51.

42 Mazarakis Ainian and Livieratou 2010, 93.

43 Cf. Brann 1962, 51–52.

44 Mazarakis Ainian and Livieratou 2010, 92–93 (with reference to Rice 1987, 232) point out the need for "protection of the surface from the penetrations of liquids into the vase's walls, which would occur over its repeated use." Cf. also Young 1939, 161.

45 It has been suggested that the rituals that led to the deposition of these kantharoi were continued at the Late Geometric Building (Academy 2), ca. 150 m northeast, and that they were connected with Akademos, Stavropoullos, *Prakt* (1959), 8–9; cf. also Coldstream 1977, 347. Despite their relative proximity to the Classical sanctuary of Akademos, however, there is no evidence to link the two sites with each other or with that hero, cf. also Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 142. See also the contribution by Alexandridou in this volume.

FIGURE 3.3 *Early Geometric cup from the Academy*
DESBOROUGH 1952, PL. 12C (NO. 2026)

the century.[46] This trend is illustrated in table 3.1, showing the number of preserved vessels from Hymettos, the site that has been most fully preserved and published. The published material from Mounichia appears to corroborate this picture.[47] It is not until the MG II period (ca. 800–760) that numbers and shapes begin to increase. There is also some evidence for newly established cult sites at this time. While some cultic material has been reported at Pallini, the material has yet to be published.[48] In addition, the cult site at Kiapha Thiti has yielded evidence of feasting as early as the MG II period; the sparse material, mainly skyphoi, is similar to evidence from Parnes, Hymettos, and Mounichia.[49]

Completing our survey of LPG-MG feasting deposits, we must address the complex evidence from the main sanctuaries of the Archaic and Classical periods, notably on the Athenian Acropolis, as well as in Eleusis, Brauron, and

46 Mazarakis Ainian and Livieratou 2010, 92. They date the bulk of the kantharoi to the EG I period.

47 Palaiokrassa 1989; Palaiokrassa 1991; Palaiokrassa 2015.

48 Cf. van den Eijnde 2010, 236 (with refs.).

49 Küper 1989; Christiansen 2000.

Sounion. From the Acropolis, we have a fair amount of material. However, since burials continued on the Acropolis well into the Protogeometric period, and perhaps even beyond, it is difficult to say in what context these vessels were used.[50] At Eleusis and Brauron, Protogeometric to Middle Geometric pottery points to some early activity; because we are awaiting the publication of these sherds, there is little that can be said at this moment.[51] Extensive landscaping and building activity in later times presumably destroyed any closed deposits that may have existed. Thus, while the importance of these sites in later times may suggest that they have long antecedents, they yield little evidence to our understanding of the issues at hand.

Lacking clear evidence from the major sanctuaries of later times, our preliminary conclusion must be based first and foremost on the sites at Parnes, Hymettos, Mounichia, the Academy, and Kiapha Thiti. Ash and/or animal bones are reported at Parnes, Hymettos, the Academy, and Kiapha Thiti. No such remains have been reported at Pallini, Mounichia, Eleusis, and the Acropolis, though uneven record keeping and sparse publication of the evidence may well be responsible.[52] While meat consumption must have taken place at most of these sites, it is the evidence for drinking that abounds.

The krater-bowls found at Hymettos and Parnes are of particular interest because they appear to represent an intermediate stage in the development of the krater from the skyphos, although both have earlier antecedents.[53] The krater-bowl resembles both forms and is of an intermediate (ca. 30 cm) size. It is not clear if these vessels were used for drinking or for mixing wine, but perhaps they were used for both, indicating that the mixing ritual of later times had not yet fully matured in this period. The krater-bowls may have had a mixed function, serving not only for liquids, but for food as well, since no specialized food-serving vessels were found in the deposits. The disappearance of the krater-bowl after the LPG is accompanied by a clear functional distinction

50 Cf. Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998. It is interesting to note that the MG I period here, like at Hymettos, has yielded very scanty remains (van den Eijnde 2010, table 7, p. 327). Whether this slump should be attributed to a variation in depositional habits, a social transformation, or simply to chance is not yet fully understood. See also Langdon 1997.

51 For some EIA sherds at Eleusis, see Mylonas 1961; see Themelis 1971, 10 for Brauron.

52 There is a methodological problem of preservation here, since bone material has seldom been kept and only summarily been recorded. Excavations at the Acropolis and Eleusis occurred at a very early date, when bone material was seldom kept or commented on. The material from Pallini is known only from preliminary reports, while from Mounichia only the terracotta finds have been published.

53 Lemos 2002, 46.

between the krater and skyphos, which are both firmly established in the Early Geometric period. This distinction seems to signal the establishment of the typically Greek ritualized mode of drinking known as the symposion.[54] The krater is generally interpreted as a diacritical tool for group definition, emphasizing the communality of wine consumption. That the krater replaces the smaller krater-bowl thus seems to mark a new ritual stage in the development of the Attic feast.

Conspicuously missing are votive gifts and specialized cult installations or any other material corollaries that may be used to define sacred deposits. Following the division of votive gifts into the standard trinity of 1) personal objects (hairpins, loom weights, pyxides, etc.), 2) purpose-made objects (terracotta figurines, plaques, house/temple models, etc.), and 3) luxury items that were regularly exchanged within the Mediterranean gift economy (bronze tripods, gold sheet, silver bowls, etc.),[55] we must conclude that none of these categories are represented in our deposits.[56]

In terms of architecture, we have defined specialized cult installations and (the absence of) domestic architecture as material indicators of sacrality. The very few architectural remains that have been uncovered (mainly at Hymettos and Kiapha Thiti) are difficult to date or identify, however, let alone to identify as sacred or domestic.[57] The absence of the latter category is generally a solid means of establishing a site as 'sacred' (i.e., a 'sanctuary') in later periods. While it is true that no domestic architecture has been reported from any of the sites under discussion, the near-complete lack of such remains in Attika—both at cult sites and elsewhere—indicates that their absence may be due to the problem of preservation: houses constructed from organic materials (wood, thatch, clay) stand a poor chance of ending up in our records.[58]

54 Cf. Wecowski 2010–2012; Wecovski 2014.

55 Cf. Whitley 2001, 141–142.

56 One might argue that some pottery was consecrated to the god as a reminder of the (wine drinking) ritual. Some vases recovered from Mt. Hymettos, for example, seem to have been deposited more or less intact, which could indicate that they were meant to serve as votives (Langdon 1976, cat. nos. 191–192). Another explanation would be convenience, to eliminate the transportation up and down the mountain.

57 I have argued (van den Eijnde 2010, 194–195) that the rectangular structure, originally identified by the excavator as an altar (Langdon 1976, 1, fig. 1), should be considered a dining room. The building has not been dated and presumably postdates the MG period.

58 By way of exception, a monumental apsidal edifice was uncovered in 2001 at Herakleidon Street, in the center of modern Athens. The building has been dated to the Protogeometric period, see Eliopoulos 2001–2004, 214–216 and Alexandridou in this volume (esp. fig. 2.9).

The absence of 'sacred' material indicators is a striking feature of early Attic cult sites and a point well worth stressing, since such evidence is the only means of establishing cult sites (or the rituals connected with them) as consecrated to the gods. Although it is difficult to resolve whether these sites were 'sacred,' it is possible to say something about agency. The material footprints indicate that the ritualized proceedings *emphasized* the role of humans (i.e., the consumption of meat and wine) and *de-emphasized* any divine entitlement to these places (i.e., no 'sacred markers,' such as cult installations or votives).

Lacking clear material evidence for sacrality, we may briefly consider the religious significance of using remote sites (bearing in mind the previously-mentioned caveat about a potential bias toward hard-to-reach locations).[59] Parnes, Hymettos, Kiapha Thiti, Mounichia, and the Acropolis are all hilltop, or even mountaintop, sites. As such, there is a clear sense that these places were somehow connected with the divine and, indeed, the cults that grew there retained a strong connection with their respective locales in later times, in particular Zeus as god of the skies, worshipped in the mountains, and Athena as the goddess of citadels (acropoleis).[60] Thus, when it comes to the complex issue of patronage of the feast, we are left in a gray area: even if certain locations—most obviously the remote hilltop sites—may have been conceived as divinely inspired,[61] divine patronage is not suggested by the finds. There is no sense that these places or the objects left behind 'belonged' to the gods. Extending the argument, there is no indication that property was assigned directly to the gods. Therefore, I would cautiously suggest that these were cults sponsored by humans to be enacted *in the presence of* the gods, but not *patronized by* them. In this sense, EIA cult practice may be considered to represent a continuation of the Bronze Age.

59 Cf. the listing of mountaintop shrines in Langdon 1976, 100–112. Now add my own listing in van den Eijnde 2010, 404.

60 Zeus: Burkert 1985, 126; Athena: Burkert 1985, 140. For Zeus in Attika, see Young 1940, 4–5, fig. 7; Langdon, 1976, 96–97. For Athena, Hurwit 1999, 15.

61 Blok 2014, 17–18 has noted that the Greek language distinguishes between that which belongs (is consecrated) to a god, such as temples, sacrifices, votives, and other gifts to the gods, and that which is innately pure or divinely inspired. The former is denoted as *hieros*, the latter as *hagnos*, *hagios*, or *semnos*. Hagnos in particular may apply to divinely inspired, but not necessarily consecrated, locations (cf. *LSJ*, s.v. ἁγνός), such as springs, mountaintops, etc.

Votives, Divine Property, and the Definition of Sacrality (Stage 2)

Feasting habits changed dramatically in the relatively brief Late Geometric (LG) period (ca. 760–700), both in the total number of recorded sites and in the size and content of the deposits.[62] In terms of pottery, however, the development is more nuanced. At the sites mentioned above and at several new sites, drinking and pouring shapes continue largely unchanged with kraters, skyphoi, cups, tankards, jugs, and oinochoai.[63] Vessels connected with eating are, as usual, sparser, though the skyphoi may well have served a mixed function and plates are now introduced at Kiapha Thiti and Parnes.[64] The use of ceremonial vessels expands during this period with the promulgation of the kantharos and the introduction of the louterion and miniature vessels.[65] The shape of the louterion is similar to a krater, but it includes a spout to allow its contents to be poured.[66] The standard interpretation is that the louterion serves—as its modern name implies—as a bowl for (ritual) cleansing. Its similarity in shape to the krater may, however, imply that it was used for mixing wine, functioning as a short-lived variant of the krater.[67] Finally, we have some miniature one-handled vases and amphoriskoi from Lathouriza, and some oinochoiskoi from Parnes. These shapes were probably used for a one-time ceremonial act, such as libation.

The fundamental shift from previous deposition patterns is represented by the sudden and game-changing introduction of votive gifts. In terms of personal possessions, dedicated to emphasize some aspect of a person's every-

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62 To prevent an inundation of repetitive fact, I will here focus mostly on those aspects of feasting practices that contrast with the previous period. Furthermore, I will present the evidence in a more cursory manner, since my methodological approach has been sufficiently illustrated above.

63 Cf. my catalogue in van den Eijnde 2010 (with refs.). Kraters: Hymettos, Mounichia, Acropolis; skyphoi: Hymettos, Parnes, Mounichia, Kiapha Thiti, and Acropolis; cups: Hymettos and Parnes; jugs: Acropolis, Menidi, Hymettos; oinochoai: Hymettos, Parnes, Acropolis, Eleusis; tankards: Hymettos.

64 For Kiapha Thiti, cf. Christiansen 2000. For Parnes, cf. van den Eijnde 2010, 235.

65 The seminal study of the louterion is Callipolitis-Feytmans 1965 (with a caveat about the name on p. 1). Wolters 1899, 132–133 had already suggested that the vessels were used as part of a cleansing ritual connected with the heroized inhabitant of the tomb, noting that the spout should determine its function. From this cleansing (λούειν), Wolters coined the term *louterion*. For further discussion, see Mazarakis Ainian and Alexandridou 2011, n. 69.

66 Examples were found at Menidi, Mounichia, and Thorikos; cf. van den Eijnde 2010, 219, 227, 260.

67 van den Eijnde 2010, 221–223.

day life (type 1, see above), we now encounter pyxides and the first Protocorinthian aryballoi.[68] At Brauron, we now find small metal objects, including golden rings, and at the well-documented sanctuary of Athena at Sounion we encounter bronze pins, gold and silver rings, and iron swords.[69]

The most spectacular innovation of this period is the introduction and vast promulgation of special-purpose objects (type 2) and luxury votives otherwise restricted to the gift-giving economy (type 3). The former class is well represented at the Acropolis, Brauron, Eleusis, Lathouriza, Menidi, Pallini, and Sounion by a vast amount of human and animal figurines, mostly terracotta but also some bronze.[70] In addition, we now find votive plaques, miniature shields, and even a fragmentary house/temple model.[71] The last class is best represented at the emerging regional sanctuaries, especially the Acropolis with ca. 70 fragments of bronze tripods, including legs, ring handles, and bronze figurines, all dating from ca. 750 to 680.[72] At Eleusis, Sacrificial Pyre Alpha was used during the final decades of the eighth and throughout the seventh century. It contained numerous votive plaques with painted tripods, birds, and snakes, female terracotta figurines, terracotta horse groups, terracotta animals, moldmade protomes, terracotta shields, lamp fragments, gold sheet, and jewelry. The earliest certainly datable votives from Pyre Alpha date to 710–690.[73]

Special-purpose architecture remains difficult to trace in this period, but it has been argued that the Acropolis may already have had a temple dedicated to

68 Pyxides: Acropolis, Kiapha Thiti, and Mounichia (cf. van den Eijnde 2010, 202, 227); aryballoi: Parnes (Mastrokostas 1983; van den Eijnde 2010, 235). The pyxides may also have been used as storage vessels for additional gifts that no longer survive, and the aryballoi may have served an additional ceremonial function, perhaps libation. The vast number of aryballoi (ca. 215 [Proto-] Corinthian examples, cf. van den Eijnde 2010, 235) deposited at Parnes would indicate that they were meant as votives. For pouring oil or wine over the altar fire, cf. Burkert 1985, 61, n. 53.

69 From Brauron: Papadimitriou 1961, 30–32. From Sounion: Goette 2000, 32–33, pl. 32, who has dated the earliest bronze objects to the second half of the eighth century, cf. also Staïs 1917, 208, fig. 17–18; Themelis 1970, 7; Dinsmoor 1971, 4; Travlos 1988, 404.

70 For a comprehensive list with references, see van den Eijnde 2010. For the terracotta figurines known as 'Stempelidole' or 'bird-face figurines,' see Küper 1989.

71 Plaques (van den Eijnde 2010, with refs.): Acropolis, Eleusis, Menidi, Sounion (Poseidon and Athena); votive shields: Eleusis, Menidi, Sounion (Athena); house/temple model (Acropolis). For the plaques from the Acropolis, see Boardman 1954, 194 + n. 130, 196–197, nos. 2, 4, 5.

72 See Touloupa 1972; Touloupa 1991.

73 Boardman 1954, 198; Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, A 1–189, pls. 8–20 for the plaques and Noack 1927, 12–13, figs. 4–5 for the figurines.

Athena in the eighth or seventh century.[74] At Eleusis the first of a series of large retaining walls was constructed, presumably to provide a space for the rites in honor of Demeter.[75] At Hymettos three special-purpose buildings were constructed that may date to this period though their precise date is uncertain.[76]

In terms of domestic architecture, which I have defined as a negative material corollary of sacrality, we are much better informed. While evidence is still sparse, there is a veritable wealth of evidence compared to the previous period: the tenth through early eighth century has yielded only two domestic buildings;[77] from the LG alone we have at least eight (clusters of) conspicuous dwellings, at the Academy, the Athenian Agora, the Areopagos, Eleusis, Lathouriza, Thorikos (two examples), and Tourkovouni.[78] The very fact that these buildings survived may be due to more permanent building materials (often built on stone socles that stand a good chance of surviving), which in turn indicate that these were the residences of important members of their communities. Although evidence of feasting is not in all cases explicit, when considered together, these buildings display a fascinating variety of feasting practices at 'ruler's dwellings' centered on the ceremonial consumption of meat, as attested by animal bones, ashes, and hearths found at most of these places.[79]

74 Nylander 1962.

75 Mylonas and Kourouniotes 1933, 274; cf. also Noack 1927, 9; Mylonas 1961, 64–66; Travlos 1983; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 148; van den Eijnde 2010, 152–155; Cosmopoulos 2015, 127–141; van den Eijnde forthcoming.

76 Langdon 1976, 1–3; van den Eijnde 2010, 193–196.

77 For the monumental apsidal edifice on Herakleidon Street, see Eliopoulos 2001–2004 and Alexandridou in this volume (esp. fig. 2.9). A MG building was excavated at Thorikos; see Bingen 1967b, 27.

78 Generally, see Mazarakis Ainian 1997 and van den Eijnde 2010. Academy: Stavropoullos, *Prakt* (1956), 45–56; (1958), 5–13, pls. 1–5; Mazarakis Ainian and Livieratou 2010; Mazarakis Ainian and Alexandridou 2011; Alexandridou in this volume. Agora: Thompson 1940. Anavyssos: Verdelis and Davaras 1966, 97–98. Areopagos: Burr 1933. Eleusis: Kourouniotis and Travlos, *Prakt* (1937), 42–52; Kourouniotis 1938, 94–97. Lathouriza: Lauter 1985b; Mazarakis Ainian 1994; Mazarakis Ainian 1995. Tourkovouni: Lauter 1985a. Thorikos: Bingen 1967a, 25–32, map 1; Bingen 1967b, 31–49, map 3; Bingen 1969, 102–109; Bingen 1983, 144–146; Van Gelder 2011. See also the contribution by Alexandridou in this volume for illustrations of the buildings in the Academy and in Thorikos, ibid. figs. 2.1 and 2.10.

79 A case for ritual dining has been argued for the Academy (pyre remains: Alexandridou in this volume), the Areopagos (van den Eijnde and Laughy 2017), Eleusis (banqueting debris: Kourouniotis and Travlos 1937, 48; Kourouniotes 1938; Travlos 1983, 334), and Lathouriza (hearth: e.g., Mazarakis Ainian 1997, figs. 149–151). At Thorikos, benches similar of a design similar to those at Lathouriza may point to banqueting as well, Van Gelder 2011, fig. 2. The remains at the Agora and Anavyssos were much disturbed by later activity. These aggluti-

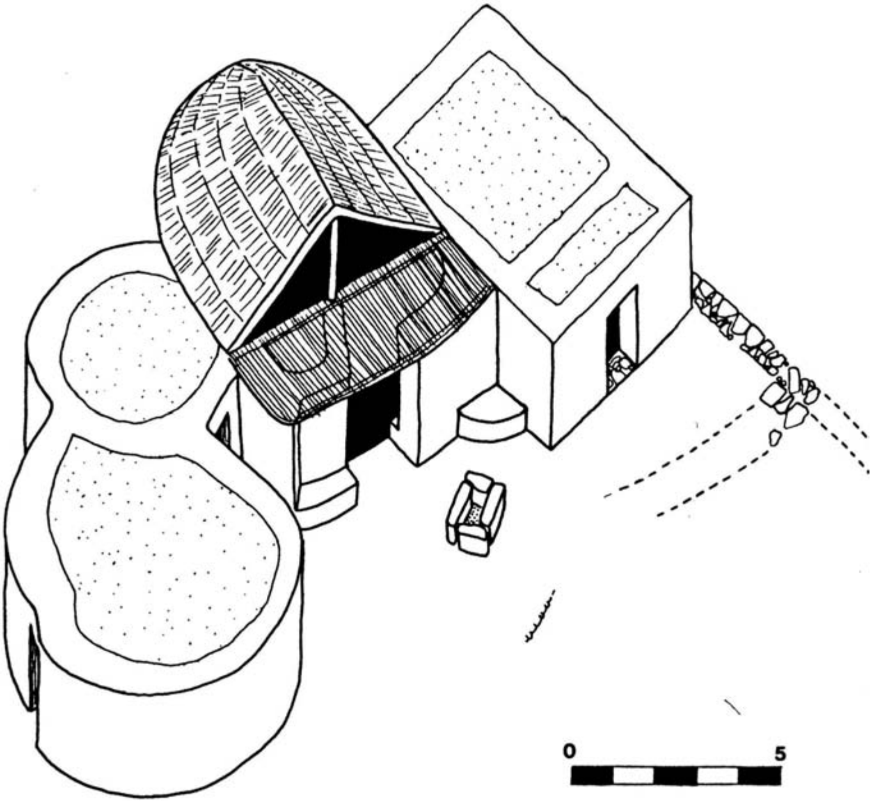

FIGURE 3.4 *Ruler's dwelling at Lathouriza*
MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997, FIG. 150

A case in point is Lathouriza (fig. 3.4), where an agglutinative building contained two dining halls and two subsidiary rooms.[80] The building is the most prominent in what is generally considered to be a small settlement. The central feature of this 'village' is a hearth, conspicuously placed in front of the main

native buildings were considered 'sacred' by Lauter 1985a because of a putative link with the cult of the dead connected with burials nearby. Most of these burials, however, are now dated after the construction of these buildings and must represent the final resting place of the inhabitants rather than some heroized ancestor. The exception to this rule is Eleusis, where only a single burial has been retrieved, which predates the so-called 'Sacred House.' On the role played by this grave in the rituals there, see van den Eijnde 2010, 171–180.

80 Lauter 1985b; Mazarakis Ainian 1994; Mazarakis Ainian 1995. Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 119, 144, 235–239, 316; van den Eijnde 2010, 208–210, 382–394.

building, indicating the importance of public cooking and banqueting.[81] Perhaps unsurprisingly, votives and special-purpose architecture are missing from this and other domestic dwellings, as they both indicate a degree of sacrality. This point nevertheless deserves to be mentioned, since, as we will see, both elements appear at some of these same sites during the next period.

In conclusion, the Late Geometric Period witnessed a clear continuation of drinking and dining at feasting sites, some of which had already been in use during the previous period, while others were founded anew. Besides the common drinking shapes, we now find a larger ceremonial assemblage, including kantharoi, louteria, miniature pouring vessels, and aryballoi, indicating an increasing emphasis on the ritual nature of the festive gatherings staged at these sites. In addition, the introduction of votive gifts in some places is truly revolutionary. Whether personal items (rings, pins, or weapons), special-purpose ones (mostly terracotta figurines, votive plaques, miniature shields, and a house model), or status objects (bronze tripods, gold sheet, etc.), these gifts, as well as the first hint of some special-purpose architecture, underline the emergence of the divine as a prominent, if conceived, agent at the feast. The fast adoption and widespread deposition of votives at cult sites, both old and new, throughout Attika indicate that during the LG period the concept of divine 'ownership' was introduced.

This notion of presence is reinforced by the possible construction of a first temple to Athena on the Acropolis.[82] Building a 'home' for the god followed directly from the introduction of expensive metal votives, as this building presumably stored such gifts. Furthermore, the temple may be considered a votive in its own right, as is suggested by the consecration of several temple models. At Eleusis, the monumental terrace wall that demarcated the area of the later Telesterion as a temenos is the first evidence in Attika for an area that was strictly set aside for the gods. This important notion indicates a shift away from locations that were divinely inspired and toward ones that were consecrated to the gods—owned by them and therefore deemed 'sacred.' Divine presence is implied by this shift: thus, the LG is the first period when we may rightfully speak about some feasting venues as proper sanctuaries. Since these feasts were now centered on divine property (i.e., the temenos, however loosely defined) we may now fairly speak of divine patronage, an important shift that had a tremendous impact on the way society was organized.

81 van den Eijnde 2010, 212–213.

82 Nylander 1962.

TABLE 3.2 *Feasting sites in Attika, ca. 950–600*

	Stage 1 (LPG-MG)	Stage 2 (LG)	Stage 3 (7th c.)
Banqueting halls	2	8	0
Deity cults	5	19	32

The Prerogative of Serving Meat (Stage 3)

The seventh century witnessed a further realignment of patronage roles, with the most notable change being the decline of the Late Geometric banqueting halls. No new banqueting halls were built in the seventh century and most of the LG houses (stage 2) were discontinued in the first quarter of the seventh century.[83] I have already noted that their comparative scarcity in the earlier (Proto-) Geometric period (stage 1, table 3.2) may be attributed to poor preservation resulting from a smaller sample and less solid building techniques. Their sudden disappearance in the seventh century (stage 3), however, may similarly be the result of fewer samples, but might actually owe more to the modesty of the prevailing architecture, which is less prone to emerge in our record. Since these banqueting halls were designed in part for ceremonial purposes, to accommodate a banqueting group of about a dozen people,[84] the decline of this type of building therefore ought to reflect the demise of relatively large-scale banqueting in domestic settings. Arguing from the absence of late seventh-century domestic architecture capable of hosting a large dinner party, domestic buildings no longer seem to have required the relatively sumptuous banqueting halls we encounter in the earlier period. These banqueting halls would be expected to turn up in our record, had they existed.

The question arises: where did banqueting go? The answer must be that, during the first half of the seventh century, ceremonial meat consumption was gradually transferred to sanctuaries. Previously, meat consumption had been

83 Servais 1967, 10 dated the building on the summit of the Velatouri at Thorikos to the first half of the seventh century, but it has been plausibly argued in recent years that the building in fact belongs to the LG period, perhaps extending into the first quarter of the seventh century (see Van Gelder 2011, 16–21). Only the buildings in the Agora and Lathouriza appear to have lasted beyond the first quarter of the century.

84 Although most such events presumably took place outdoors, the architecture of these buildings had to be able to accommodate a minimum number of guests in case of unfavorable weather. Also, staging a banquet indoors may in itself have been a diacritical mode of feasting, separating a group of diners from those not invited.

practiced in the presence of a divinity (stage 1) or at a location specifically set aside for the gods (stage 2), but also at domestic dwellings (both stages). During the Early Archaic period, conspicuous meat consumption disappeared at domestic dwellings. As is shown in table 3.2, the number of cult sites shows a strong increase from the late eighth to the late seventh century, precisely when conspicuous banqueting in domestic settings declined, suggesting a close correlation between the two trends. This change represents not only a spatial shift, but also, and more importantly, a realignment of individual patronage and allegiance networks. Patronage, along with the prestige associated with the symbolism of the meat economy, was now definitely transferred to the sacred realm. Within this realm, individual largesse could still be displayed in the form of expensive votives or by supplying various festive perquisites, but the intercession of divine patronage ensured that meat-consumption feasts were now considered to be a communal, rather than an individual endeavor.

In terms of wine consumption, we notice a reverse development. Seventh-century feasting deposits continue to exhibit some of the same drinking shapes that were attested previously (skyphoi, cups, and oinochoai), but with one marked exception: the krater, which is now absent. Although the evidence is less than overwhelming, a pattern can be discerned, especially at some of the major EIA sanctuaries. At Hymettos and Mounichia, the krater had been an important feature of the assemblage from the Late Protogeometric period onward.[85] On the Acropolis, krater fragments are attested in great number throughout the LG period.[86] After 700, no more kraters are deposited at any of these sites.

How exactly this affected the consumption of wine in sanctuaries may be debated, but the symposiastic connotation of the krater, including a highly ritualized emphasis on peer equality and group exclusivity, must surely be taken into consideration.[87] The continuation of other drinking shapes (in particular

85 Hymettos: Langdon 1976. Mounichia: Palaiokrassa 1989; Palaiokrassa 1991; Palaiokrassa 2015.

86 Graef and Langlotz 1925, 241–414; Broneer 1938, 224–228; Langdon 1997, 116–118; Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998.

87 On the strong connection between the krater and the symposiastic mode of feasting in the Archaic and Classical periods, see the contribution of Lynch to this volume, as well as Rotroff 1996, both connecting the disappearance of the krater in Hellenistic times with the peer equality of the earlier symposion. How the krater is related to the emergence of the symposion is not yet fully understood. Wecowski 2014, 250–251 argues that the krater preceded the symposion, as it was already known in Mycenaean times. However, we know too little about the context in which these vessels were used at that time to exclude the possibility that some kind of peer equality was inherent in the way they were used.

cups and skyphoi) suggests that wine consumption per se may not have been discontinued, but that the symposiastic consumption mode connected with the krater was no longer practiced in sacred settings. We can only speculate about the reasons for this development. One explanation may be that the reach of sanctuaries increased in such a way as to include members of different social strata, rendering the close-knit peer setting of the symposiastic conbibium less appropriate to these specific events and causing the emergence of the private/domestic symposion.

Conclusion

A crucial transformation in Attic feasting patterns took place in the eighth century. The development of feasting practices from the Late Helladic period to the Early Iron Age consisted more of a change in scope and form, rather than of a shift in social meaning. In both periods, large-scale banqueting, consisting of the ceremonial consumption of meat, was intimately connected with the house of local magnates, whether a Mycenaean wanax or the local ruler of a LG Attic deme.[88] It was not until the first half of the eighth century that the concept of divine patronage firmly took root, with the large-scale introduction of votive offerings at sites specifically set aside for feasting with the gods. In the next stage, ceremonial meat consumption was gradually transferred to the sites that had been exclusively consecrated to the gods. Conversely, there is evidence that communal drinking was moved from cultic settings toward the private sphere.

How was this spatial shift related to the social structure that sustained such patronage networks? At private banquets, patronage is essentially one-dimensional. Either a guest is able to reciprocate the invitation, in which case he is a peer, or he is not, in which case he is placed in a subordinate position. The inherent danger of escalation is well illustrated by comparison to the well-documented Enga Tee cycle in Papua New Guinea, where the loathsome burden of having to outdo competitors within a peer-based patronage network escalates to the point of the population's starvation, as all resources are diverted to ever-increasing yearly banquets revolving around the mass slaughter of pigs.[89] The instability of the system requires the slate to be cleaned at

88 To be sure, there were variations, such as a proclivity in EIA stage 1 for meat consumption in remote and inaccessible places, but these examples may be the result of a bias in preservation (see above).

89 Wiessner 2001.

an interval of some thirty years, when a divine directive puts a halt to all pig consumption. Then the cycle begins anew. The obligations of the patronage system thus constantly threaten to exclude participants from a peer-group, as it becomes increasingly difficult to 'keep up with the Joneses'. It is in this light that we should understand Andromache's lament about the fate awaiting Astyanax once he is orphaned and excluded from the banqueting cycle of his father.[90]

In Attika, in the first half of the seventh century, banqueting was removed to sacred precincts where no individual could claim patronage of the feast. Transferring the ceremonial consumption of meat to 'neutral' temene of the gods deprived individuals of the benefits of individual patronage and the status enhancement of hosting a meat feast. The transfer of patronage to the divine realm seems to have had the advantage of stabilizing society by diminishing the threat of prominent individuals monopolizing the system, but leaving open the possibility of defining their elevated status as members of the larger community through their support of collectively organized feasts.

Importantly, it also allowed the system to be much more inclusive and capable of operating on an ever-larger scale, since feasting was no longer limited to a single individual's feasting network. The 'neutral' venue of the sacred precinct could combine multiple patronage networks, as individuals were ranked according to their status and assigned an increasing variety of ritual roles. The communal decision to forego the privilege of hosting a sumptuous banquet was thus a prerequisite for the communality and inclusivity of polis life. In other words—to borrow a phrase from François de Polignac—the relegation of ceremonial meat consumption to the sacred realm represented the "acte constitutif" of the polis.[91]

A final word may be devoted to the case of the krater gone missing from early Attic sanctuaries. As ceremonial meat consumption was fixed within the sacred realm, symposiastic behavior was moved in the opposite direction, toward domestic contexts. Even if domestic architecture is sparse in Archaic Attika, the evidence from funerary contexts indicates that the krater continued to be an important status object, presumably because it demonstrated an individual's membership of a certain peer group.[92] This conclusion seems to accord with

90 *Il.* 6.489–498; cf. also Wecowski 2014, 311–312.

91 de Polignac 1984, 86 (about the Lacedaimonian polis): "De toute façon, le développement du sanctuaire et de la fête d'Apollon et Hyacinthos, et de leur rôle d'intégration tant horizontale que verticale, est acte constitutif, de la *polis* lacédémonienne, formée au moyen de cette première décision collective visant à assurer la cohésion de la société."

92 Cf. Houby-Nielsen 1992; Whitley 1994; Houby-Nielsen 1995; Houby-Nielsen 1996; Alexandridou 2015.

standard practice in the Classical period when the consumption of wine inside sanctuaries was confined to libations or very specific ritual contexts, such as the Anthesteria.[93] If wine was drunk at all within the precinct, it must have been in moderation since drunkenness is not attested in the sources.[94] The restriction on wine consumption in sanctuaries from the seventh century onwards marked a division in the ritualized consumption of meat and alcohol into separate spheres and finalized the conversion from human to divine patronage, a development that I have argued started a century earlier with the deposition of votive gifts and the emergence of the sanctuary proper.

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93 For wine consumption at the Anthesteria: Parker 2005, 291–293, 313, 315.

94 For wine used during the offering ceremony, see Burkert 1977, 103–108; for wine as libation, see Burkert 1977, 121–125.

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CHAPTER 4

Feasting at the Sanctuary of Apollo Hyakinthos at Amykles: The Evidence from the Early Iron Age*

Vicky Vlachou

Introduction

Feasting was a pivotal aspect of the social and religious life of early societies, involving the shared consumption of food and drink. In a recent article, James Wright defines feasting as:

> A fundamental social practice that marks most celebrations of life stages and natural cycles when people gather, and in varying ways display, reaffirm, and change their identities as individuals and as members of groups. It is an integral part of ritual and religious practice, occurring nearly universally as a component of other activities.[1]

Homer has served as a primary reference point for heroic feasting in varying contexts and under different circumstances. Homeric feasting appears as one

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I use the following chronological abbreviations:

SM: Sub-Mycenaean

PG: Protogeometric (ca. 1050/25–900, after Desborough 1952 and Lemos 2002)

EG: Early Geometric (EG I ca. 900–875, and EG II ca. 875–850, after Coldstream 1968)

EIA: Early Iron Age

EPG: Early Protogeometric (ca. 1050/25–980, after Desborough 1952 and Lemos 2002)

MG: Middle Geometric (MG I ca. 850–800, and MG II 800–760, after Coldstream 1968)

LBA: Late Bronze Age

LG: Late Geometric (LG I ca. 760–735, and LG II 735–700/690, after Coldstream 1968)

LPG: Late Protogeometric (ca. 960–900, after Desborough 1952 and Lemos 2002).

1 Wright 2004, 135. See also Dietler 2001; Hamilakis 2009; Hamilakis and Sherratt 2012.

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of the most frequent activities in various stages of the narration.[2] Homeric heroes share a meal together as a token of hospitality that is offered before the departure of the hero, to celebrate a victory after a battle, and to propitiate the gods and win them to their side. Within this framework, and as is outlined in the introduction to this volume, there are a number of variations regarding the purpose of a feast, the people involved, the degree of their involvement, and the place where a feast is hosted.

From another point of view, drinking and dining vessels used for feasting activities are common finds in almost every context within the Early Iron Age Aegean. Recent scholarship has emphasized the role of feasting as a powerful medium for the self-representation of social groups and the formation of bonds.[3] Joining in a feast, on a specific occasion, seems to have created a cohesive link between the social groups, facilitated communication between the participants, and presumably also created obligations for all (equal) participants. Archaeological evidence associated with drinking and dining is common in cultic contexts. Vessels associated with drinking and dining constitute common finds from open-air shrines in later sanctuaries manifesting the importance of the shared consumption of food and drink by the participants in the context of ritual activity.[4] In this framework, the sanctuary of Apollo Hyakinthos at Amykles remains one of the few religious sites where it is possible to follow the transformations in ritual activity and structure from the final stages of the Bronze Age through the Early Iron Age.[5]

The earliest remains of cultic activity on the low hill of Aghia Kyriaki at Amykles date to the Late Helladic IIIB2–IIIC periods according to the numerous finds of pottery, terracotta human and animal figurines, and various smaller votive offerings. The open-air shrine has been considered the center of regional ritual activity lasting from the late thirteenth to the mid/late eleventh century.[6]

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2 Van Wees 1995; Carter 1995; Sherratt 2004, 301–306.

3 For a treatment of Early Iron Age societies, cf. MazarakisAinian 1997, 375–396; Wecowski 2002; 2014; Duplouy 2012.

4 See also the contributions to this volume by Alexandridou, van den Eijnde, Whitley and Madgwick, Lynch and Steiner.

5 The early beginnings of the extra-urban Amyklaion sanctuary may be understood when compared to other mainland sanctuaries, such as Isthmia: Morgan 1999; Olympia: Kyrieleis 2006, Eder 2001; Kalapodi: Felsch 1980, 1996, 2007, Nitsche 1987, Niemeier 2013; Epidauros, Maleatas: Lambrinoudakis 1976, 1981, 1982.

6 Demakopoulou 1982, 80–81; 2009; 2015; Wright 1994, 65; Pettersson 1992, 92–99; Eder 1998, 89–113. The location of the contemporary settlement has been suggested in the plain of Amyklai near the modern village, on the surrounding hills, and at Vapheio, see Demakopoulou 1982,

Material evidence dating from the transitional period, from the late eleventh to the mid/late tenth century is admittedly scarce; however, the evidence does indicate that the site was never forgotten. This evidence is mainly associated with the consumption of food and drink, demonstrating the importance of such activities in maintaining the memory of the specific place, presumably within a ritual context. The large corpus of material dating from the mid/late tenth century onward clearly shows that by that time the site already attracted quite a large number of visitors, possibly on a regular basis. By the middle/late eighth century, the growing range of votive offerings and the quantity of the material remains on the hill suggest an increase in cultic activity, possibly associated with the consolidation of the ritual practices into a festival, the Spartan Hyakinthia. According to literary and epigraphic evidence, the Hyakinthia was one of the most important religious festivals of the Spartan polis.[7]

The beginnings of the Hyakinthia festival have been largely placed in the late eighth century, although the earliest literary evidence of the festival does not predate the fifth century.[8] The most important reference to the festival is in the fourth book of *Deipnosophistai*, where Athenaios (*Deipnosophistai* 4. 139c–f) quotes at length Polykrates's description of the meal at the Hyakinthia.[9] The festival honored the hero Hyakinthos and Apollo, and celebration of each included a different type of meal, revealing the complexities and transformations of the religious practices that must have originated at an early date.[10] During the first part of the rituals, the mourning of the dead Hyakinthos included restrictions to eating and drinking, and the absence of almost any festive expression. By contrast, restrictions were dismissed during the second part, when joyful celebrations and sacrifices were offered to Apollo. The differential access to food and drink assumed particular importance during the Hyakinthia and thus feasting was an integral part of the ritual activity. It is possible that the existence of two consecutive ritual phases within the same festival gradually developed beginning in the late eighth/early seventh century, after the incor-

80–81. Recent excavations of the 5th Ephorate in the wider area of Sparta, namely, the 'acropolis' and the surrounding area, have revealed evidence for Middle and Late Helladic habitation. Zavvou and Themos 2009, 111. For a group of chamber tombs of the Late Helladic IIIA/IIIB in the area of Spelakia, see Spyropoulos 1981, 126–129, pl. 60.

7 Conde 2008, 13–19, 47–56; Vlizos 2009; 2015; Zavvou and Themos 2015; Petropoulou 2015.

8 Dietrich 1975; Calame 1997, 181–182; Conde 2008, 13–14; Petropoulou 2015.

9 Also Paus. 3.19.3; Bruit 1990; Brulé 1992; Pettersson 1992, 9–29; Conde 2008, 13–59.

10 For a discussion see Sourvinou-Inwood 1989, 53; Morgan 1999, 369–372; Dickinson 2006, 219–222.

poration of Amykles into the Spartan polis and the transformation of the older local cult into one of the most important Spartan festivals.[11]

Archaeological evidence forms the only source for tentative reconstructions of the earliest phases of the Early Iron Age. This paper will discuss material evidence, in particular the ceramic assemblages connected with drinking and dining at the Amyklaion from around the late eleventh century, when the latest dedications to the Mycenaean shrine have been dated, to the late eighth century, when the earliest peribolos wall marked the area of the cult.[12] The quantity and quality of the drinking and dining equipment demonstrate that the consumption of food and drink by the participants formed an important part of the activities throughout the whole period. Feasting seems to have served as a means of communication in the reappraisal of community identity during the earlier phases of the Early Iron Age, a period of marked social and economic changes. It is perhaps worth considering that feasting activities acquired a particularly marked distinction during the same period, while the investment in feasting and cult equipment and the competitive display of various votive offerings marked the development of the sanctuary until the late eighth century, consistent with a lasting increase in activity.

The Space of Ritual Activity

The sanctuary is 5 km southeast from the center of Sparta, on the west bank of the Eurotas and roughly 600 m to the east of the modern village of Amykles, also known as Sklavochori or Slavochori.[13] The low hill of Aghia Kyriaki has a steep incline to the east but gentler slopes from all other directions. It offers a fine view to the south, framed by the mountains of Taygetos to the west and of Parnonas to the east (fig. 4.1).

Excavations took place in four distinct periods between 1890 and 1925 and began again in 2005 under the joint direction of the Benaki Museum and the 5th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities.[14] A significant corpus of

11 Dietrich 1975; Calame 1997, 181–182; Pettersson 1992, 106–112; Vlachou 2015.

12 Vlizos 2009, 14; 2015, 94–95.

13 Tsountas 1892, 3; Fiechter 1918, 223 nos. 11, 12; Buschor and Von Massow 1927, 61–64 nos. 1–16; Conde 2008, 61–93; Vlizos 2009, 11–13.

14 Tsountas 1892; Fiechter 1918; Skias 1907, 104–107; Buschor and Von Massow 1927; for a short history of the excavations in the sanctuary area, see Demakopoulou 1982, 29–42; Calligas 1992, 31–33; Pettersson 1992, 92–99; Conde 2008, 61–69; Vlizos 2009, 11–13; 2015. The results of the more recent excavations on the site are currently being prepared for final

FIGURE 4.1 *The hill of Aghia Kyriaki, view from southeast*
PHOTO FROM THE *AMYKLES RESEARCH PROJECT* ARCHIVE

material has been associated with the postpalatial shrine that was founded on the hill at the end of the thirteenth century.[15] The initial phase of cult activity at the Amyklaion spanned the Late Helladic IIIC period to the mid/late eleventh century, and was followed by a number of dedications and a cult during the succeeding Early Iron Age. The sanctuary was almost completely reorganized in the late Archaic period. The sanctuary housed the famous Throne of Apollo, a giant throne with the column-shaped statue of Apollo at its center; the tomb of Hyakinthos, which served as the base for the statue of Apollo; the altar; and other monuments delimited by a strong temenos wall.[16]

The continuous use and rebuilding of the area during the successive phases of the sanctuary left us without a stratigraphic sequence, but only a large number of mixed deposits.[17] Unfortunately the results of the older excavations on

publication; the author is responsible for the publication of the ceramic assemblages. The suggestions in this paper should thus be taken only as preliminary conclusions that may be modified in view of the study of the rest of the material uncovered in the sanctuary.

15 Demakopoulou 1982; 2009; 2015. See also de Polignac 1994; Antonaccio 1994, 88, 103.

16 *IG* V 1, 863B, 863 C, 1515C: "Apollonos en Amyklai [Ἀπόλλων(ος) ἐν Ἀμυκλαίοι]." For a short treatment of the bibliography on the throne of Apollo, see Vlizos 2009, 12–13; 2015; Delivorias 2009.

17 Buschor and Von Massow 1927, 24–33; Coulson 1985, 63–64; Vlizos 2015; Vlachou 2015. Concentrations of Mycenaean and Early Iron Age material, usually mingled with later material, were found close to the altar, in the area to the west and south of the modern church of Aghia Kyriaki and mainly along the Archaic peribolos wall.

the hill permit only general observations, and it is impossible to make any chronological distinctions within the deposited debris. Early activities were presumably centered on an ash altar. A mixture of ash, pottery, votive offerings, and a few animal bones were found in a layer of black fatty earth in and around the area of the later altar of the sanctuary investigated by Ch. Tsountas (fig. 4.2).[18] The area immediately to the southwest of the altar seems to have also consisted of a mixture of ash and black earth with animal bones, pottery, and metal objects. In this area Tsountas identified among the animal bones some sheep horns and cattle teeth. It seems, however, that such a mixture of ash, bones, and pottery is commonly found in Greek sanctuaries, and taken to represent both burnt sacrificial remains and residues from the preparation and consumption of food.[19]

Other material culture collected from the area in and around the later altar includes a number of miniature vessels, a few figurines, bronze and iron weapons and artifacts, a few pieces of jewelry, and a large quantity of mainly fragmentary pottery dating from the LBA, EIA, and later periods. This evidence reveals the diversity of the activities in this area. It is important to note that the focus of cultic activity seems to have been already fixed at an early date in the southwestern part of the hill, in the same area where the later altar of the sanctuary was located. This circumstance is comparable to other early shrines such as, for example, the shrine of the later sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros, the early cult in the area of the Classical Pelopeion at Olympia, the altar of Zeus on Mount Lykaion, and the sanctuary at the site of Herakles on Kos.[20]

By the late eighth century the first peribolos wall, which was revealed during the most recent excavations, enclosed a much larger area and encompassed at least the southern and part of the eastern side of the hill (fig. 4.1). The wall is 30 m long and 2.10 m wide and is located approximately 6 m north of the Classi-

18 Tsountas 1892, 1–26. The deposition of the LBA and EIA material was marked in certain areas by the existence of a clay layer, on top of which later material was deposited. Conde 2008, 66 and n. 239, has associated this situation with works undertaken for the construction of the Throne in the Archaic period, and has used this as an argument in favor of the continuity of ritual activity in the same area from the Mycenaean to the Geometric period.

19 Berquist 1988; Sourvinou-Inwood 1993; Morgan 1999, 319–321. Pyres at Eleusis have been interpreted as the remains of *enagismoi* related to chthonic cult, in the absence of animal bones. Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, 181; Cosmopoulos 2014, 422.

20 Epidauros: Lambrinoudakis 1976, 202–209; 1981; 1982. Olympia: Morgan 1999, 379–382; Eder 2001; 2009; Kyrieleis 2006. Mount Lykaion: Romano and Voyatzis 2010. Kos: Skerlou 2004.

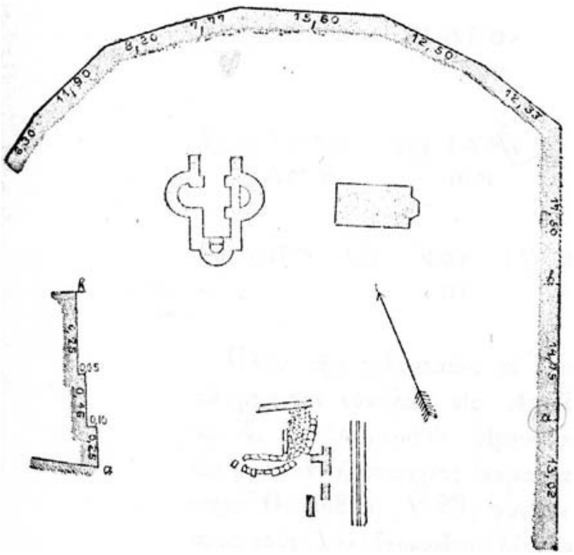

FIGURE 4.2 *Drawing of the architectural remains excavated by Chr. Tsountas. The circular constructions to the southwest indicate the location of the altar of the sanctuary.*
AFTER TSOUNTAS 1892, 1

cal monumental peribolos.[21] This wall represents the first attempt to organize and increase the size of the sacred space by retaining the large hill slope and marking out a temenos. Large quantities of Mycenaean, Protogeometric, Geometric, and later material were found in the filling layers along the two enclosure walls of the sanctuary, possibly representing secondary deposits from the top of the hill.

The Bronze Age to Iron Age Transition at Amykles (Mid/Late Eleventh to Mid-Tenth Century)

The question of religious continuity from the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age has been a primary concern in the study of the sanctuary at Amykles. A hiatus in the material record that seemed to follow the Late Helladic IIIC activity at the Amyklaion was largely seen as a gap in activity for more than a century.[22]

21 Vlizos 2009, 14; 2015, 94–95.

22 Desborough 1952, 283–290; Snodgrass 2000, 130–131, 395; Eder 1998, 97–111; Cartledge 2002, 70–80.

FIGURE 4.3A–B *Fragments of open vessels of* EPG *style*
PHOTOS BY THE AUTHOR

Nonetheless, according to the detailed study of K. Demakopoulou, the latest offerings to the Mycenaean shrine, such as the late female Psi figurines and certain wheel-made bull figurines, may well date from the end of the twelfth century to the mid/late eleventh century, while the decoration of the latest specimens in these series foreshadow the distinct Lakonian Protogeometric style.[23] The late date of those figurines may now be further supported by the presence of some pottery sherds of SM/EPG style (fig. 4.3a–b).

Drinking sets spanning the Late Helladic IIIC period, comprising medium-sized kraters, high-stemmed kylikes, and deep bowls, as well as a few amphora sherds and possibly a few stirrup jars, indicate an emphasis on ritual consumption. Ritual drinking is suggested by the presence of the unique though fragmentary clay human figure that is shown holding the high stem of a ky-

23 Demakopoulou 1982, 43–68; 2009, 96; 2015, 110–111. See also Nicholls 1970, 10; Coulson 1985; Antonaccio 1994, 88, 97; Pettersson 1994, 91–100; Vlachou 2015, 113–115. For the dedication of bull figurines in open-air shrines, see Guggisberg 2009. Very similar to the wheelmade bulls found at the Amyklaion are the numerous finds from the site of Herakles on Kos and the sanctuary of Apollo Dalios on Kalymnos, where such figurines were offered until the LG period. Similarities in cultic activities at the Amyklaion and the site of Herakles on Kos can also be seen in comparing the space of an open-air shrine and what seems to be an ash altar in use from the LBA to the LG period. For the site of Herakles, see Skerlou 2004.

lix.[24] Despite the paucity of material dating to the late eleventh and early tenth century, a particular emphasis is once again placed on drinking and possibly also dining. Drinking from kylikes with high ribbed stems mark a certain continuity in the practices from the LBA,[25] while a number of conical feet of different sizes are consistent with drinking vessels of the PG period.[26] A few more pieces of local manufacture seem rather early in date but, because stratified deposits are not available, their chronology has to be established by means of stylistic evaluation alone.[27] They all belong to small open vessels, mainly skyphoi.

Another piece of equipment that originates in the Late Helladic IIIA/B is an interesting variant of a cup (an arytaina), which has a single tall vertical handle.[28] The surface of the PG specimens is either covered with black metallic paint (in contrast to their LBA counterparts, which are covered with an orange-red paint) or the surfaces preserve some characteristic PG decoration. All examples from Amykles are handmade. Within a ritual context, these vessels would seem ideal for libations and they may have been used in this way. It seems however that their shape with one high handle would be most suitable for serving food, especially porridge or soup, from a cooking vessel. Although no evidence survives for the cooking practices during this early period, the presence of a number of small-sized (and presumably votive) tripod cooking vessels and a large quantity of fragmentary handmade stands of tripod vessels seem to indi-

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24 Mycenaean terracotta anthropomorphic figures have been considered to represent a development within Mycenaean religious behavior already from the Late Helladic IIIA period, related to the choices and interests of the local elites. According to H. Whittaker, "the terracotta statues can be considered artefacts of power and represent not only the materialization of religious beliefs and cult activity, but also of the social and political power of the ruling elite." The public display of such figures in religious processions during ritual practices seems quite possible. Whittaker 2009, 108–109. See also Nicholls 1970, 6–8; French 1981, 173. For the terracotta figures found at Amyklaion, see Vlachou 2017, 13–25.

25 For the use and symbolism of the vessel during the transitional period in the western Peloponnese and Ithaca, see Eder 1998, 97–107, 127–130, 136–138; 2001, 206–208; Morgan 2006, 244–245; Demakopoulou 2009, 121.

26 Buschor and Von Massow 1927, pl. 2.19–22, 25; Demakopoulou 1982, 70–72, pl. 52 nos. 20–23; Coulson 1985, 29–84, esp. 58–59 fig. 11, nos. 354–358.

27 Vlachou 2015, figs. 1a–b.

28 Buschor and Von Massow 1927, pl. 2.17. The shape looks very similar to the Late Helladic IIIC (middle) undecorated dippers with raised handle that are quite common, beginning in the Late Helladic IIIB. Broneer 1933, 371 fig. 44c; Mountjoy 1993, 96 no. 258; Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, 68, pl. 5, A1082, A1322 (Kephalonia), pl. 23, S551 (Ithaca); Popham, Schofield, and Sherratt 2006, 204–205, fig. 2.32:3–4.

cate that food was prepared mainly by means of boiling.[29] The presence of a number of fragmentary clay tripod cauldrons by the ninth century at Amykles may indicate that those vessels served for the preparation of food during those early ceremonies.

Feasting during the Protogeometric Period (Mid-Tenth to Early Ninth Century)

Following these early developments, the first important phase of the sanctuary spanned the LPG period and the early years of the Geometric (mid-tenth to early ninth century). Material assemblages include an increasingly elaborate collection of vessels that would have held liquid and other perishable offerings, a large variety of miniature handmade vessels with or without painted decoration, small offerings such as figurines and loom weights decorated in a distinctive Protogeometric style, vessels of symbolic and cultic value (such as ring vases), and also metal offerings and figurines.

The fine ware assemblage demonstrates a consistently high percentage of small- and medium-sized open vessels that would have served as the basic equipment for the communal rituals, mainly for the consumption of food and drink, and presumably also for libations. The standardization of the drinking and dining sets at Amykles may be associated with a specialized pottery production that met the needs of the participants in the ritual activities. By the middle of the tenth century at the latest, shapes and decoration of the local pottery form a distinct ceramic style.[30]

Skyphoi, kantharoi, bowls (lekanides), and one-handled cups are the most common shapes in the pottery assemblages.[31] The carinated skyphos is one

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29 Ekroth 2007, 266–268; 2008. For the absence of such preparations in the Homeric Epics, see Sherratt 2004, 313–314. For residue analysis on Bronze Age cooking pottery, see Tzedakis and Martlew 1999, 121–122, 127, 131, 183, 186.

30 See Coulson 1985; Margreiter 1988, 19–26; Eder 1998, 107–109; Kõiv 2003, 63–66; Vlachou 2015, 113–115. The idea of a regional pottery production centered at Amykles during the PG was first implied by Desborough 1952, 284, 288 and was further elaborated by Coulson 1983, 111, 321; 1985, 38, 57, 61; 1986, 35–48, 55–56. Pettersson 1992, 98–99 further developed the idea of a local production of this 'high quality' pottery at Amykles that would pass from one generation to another, presumably within a family.

31 For a classification of the types, see Coldstream 1968, 212–213. Coulson 1985, 34–45, 52–58; 1983, 66–67; Vlachou 2015. Coulson has convincingly demonstrated the origin of several Lakonian shapes, such as the carinated skyphos, the flaring skyphos, the krater, and certain types of cups, as from the preceding Mycenaean repertory.

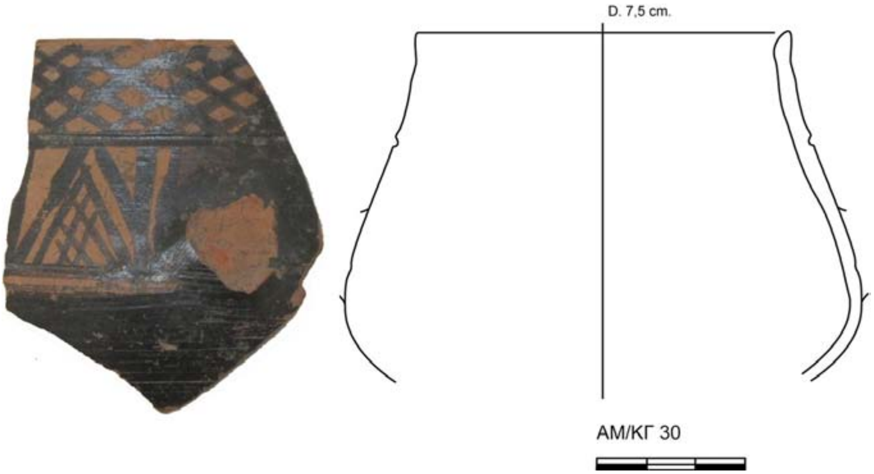

FIGURE 4.4A–B *Carinated skyphos of the PG period from the Amyklaion sanctuary*
PHOTO AND DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR

of the most characteristic types of Lakonian PG, the origin of which has been traced in the LBA stemmed bowls by Coulson (fig. 4.4a–b).[32] The profile is characterized by a narrow rim with a diameter that rarely exceeds 0.08 m, sides that slant outwards and make a sharp turn inwards just below the horizontal handles that are attached at the widest diameter. A high conical foot has been restored for this type of skyphos that would match the numerous conical feet found at Amykles.[33] The same carinated profile seems equally to have been shared by kantharoi.[34] Two vertical handles are attached to the lip and at the point of the widest diameter on the body. The height of the handles exceeds slightly that of the lip and the contour delineates an angular semicircle. A second variant is characterized by a shallower profile than the carinated type and a lip that overhangs the body (fig. 4.5a–b). This type is better defined here as a lekanis because, in contrast to Coulson's original impression, two horizontal handles may now be restored for all the examples.[35] The diameter of the lip is usually between 0.12 and 0.16 m, although some specimens may even reach a diameter of 0.22 m.

32 Coulson 1983, 66–67.
33 Coulson's type C1 (1985, 36 fig. 2, no. 39–41) is only rarely represented in the material from Amykles.
34 For a different variant close to the profile of the deep skyphoi, see Zavvou 1996, 130 pl. 45a. Kyrieleis suggests a date for the kantharos in the late tenth/ninth century (Kyrieleis 2006, 156–157 no. 69).
35 Coulson 1985, 52–54.

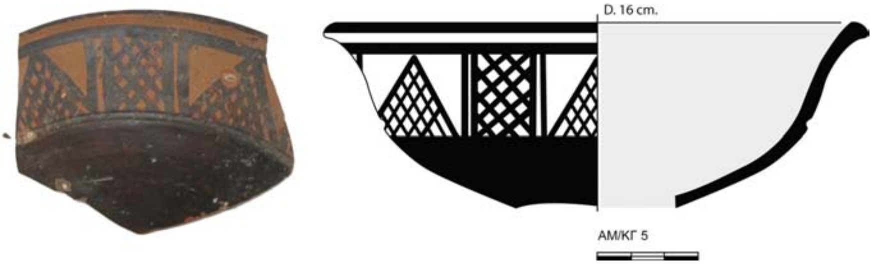

FIGURE 4.5A–B *Flaring skyphos/lekanis of the* PG *period from the Amyklaion sanctuary*
PHOTO AND DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR

The large numbers of carinated skyphoi and lekanides in the pottery assemblages indicate that those vessels would have served as the basic feasting equipment, complemented by a significant number of kantharoi and monochrome painted one-handled cups. Skyphoi and kantharoi with their deep profile and narrow lip opening would serve perfectly for drinking and the consumption of liquids, while the profile shape of lekanides (or bowls) seems more suitable for eating, mainly for meals prepared by boiling or stewing. Although the use of those vessels may have varied during feasts, we may argue that each shape was intended for a particular function and that already in this early period there was a high degree of standardization of the vessels used during those activities.[36]

Kraters, although extremely fragmentary, reach large dimensions, with a rather deep body and lip diameter that ranges between 0.30 and 0.48 m for the largest example. The shape may be compared with contemporary specimens from Olympia, Athens, Lefkandi, and elsewhere that are close to the Late Helladic IIIC tradition.[37] No evidence yet exists for the type of foot on these kraters, and it is possible that a conical pedestal, similar to that of the skyphoi and kantharoi from the same assemblages, might have been applied. A different type of large open vessel is very close to the profile shape of the lekanides and thus it seems more appropriate to identify it as a deep lekane rather than as a krater.[38]

Finds of closed shapes are less frequent and extremely fragmentary. Large amphorae seem entirely absent, while only few fragments from oinochoai or hydriai survive. The rarity of large closed vessels from Amykles, just as from

36 For the use of the skyphos both for eating and drinking, see Howe 1958, 49–50; Morgan 1999, 322–323. For a distinction between the small open vessels that have served for eating and drinking, see Luce 2008, 278–280. For a use of the lidded skyphos as a container for various objects, see Themelis 1983.

37 Kyrieleis 2006, 178–179; Lemos 2002, 48–53.

38 For identification as kraters, see Coulson 1985, 54–55, fig. 9.

contemporary assemblages at Olympia, Isthmia, and Kalapodi, could indicate a marked difference in the use and function of those vessels in a ritual context.[39] B. Eder suggested that the rarity or paucity of large storage vessels may distinguish a sanctuary assemblage from a settlement one, where large closed shapes are generally much more common.[40]

Pottery assemblages are characterized by a shiny black glaze and a remarkable consistency in shapes and decoration. They demonstrate a high degree of homogeneity, presumably indicating individuals and/or social groups that shared common social status and identity.[41] The scarcity of imported wares and the rarity of clear external influences in the pottery from the sanctuary area seem to indicate that access to the sanctuary was restricted to local visitors from nearby areas. Although the frequency of those gatherings is impossible to reconstruct with the existing evidence, the large corpus of material found on the hill points to an apparent increase in the number of visitors, possibly also the rate of visitation, and eventually an increase in the ritual activity during the late tenth and in the ninth century. Drinking and dining seem to have enjoyed a central place among the ritual activities during the same period.

Feasting during the Geometric Period (Mid-Ninth to Late Eighth Century)

By the middle of the ninth century, two concurrent ceramic traditions in the feasting equipment indicate social transformations and outside cultural influences at Amykles, with possible political dimensions. While the PG pottery tradition seems to continue as late as the late ninth and the early eighth century, Argive, and to a lesser degree Corinthian and Attic, influences penetrate this idiosyncratic local style. This influence is best illustrated with the introduction of new shapes, mainly skyphoi and cups that draw their shape from the EG/MG Attic, Argive, and Corinthian repertoire, while their decoration reveals continuity from the strong Lakonian tradition (fig. 4.6). The shape seems foreign to local tradition, with a low vertical or slightly off-set lip, shallow body

39 Morgan 1999, 392–393; Eder 2009, 205; Nitsche 1987, 35–49; Felsch 1980, 47–54.

40 Eder 2001, 205.

41 Contrary to the treatment of the PG Amyklaian pottery by Cartledge 2002, 77–78 as the simple and monotone outcome of an isolated pottery production, our arguments are closer to that of Pettersson 1992, 97–100, who considers pottery style as a significant indicator for detecting social change.

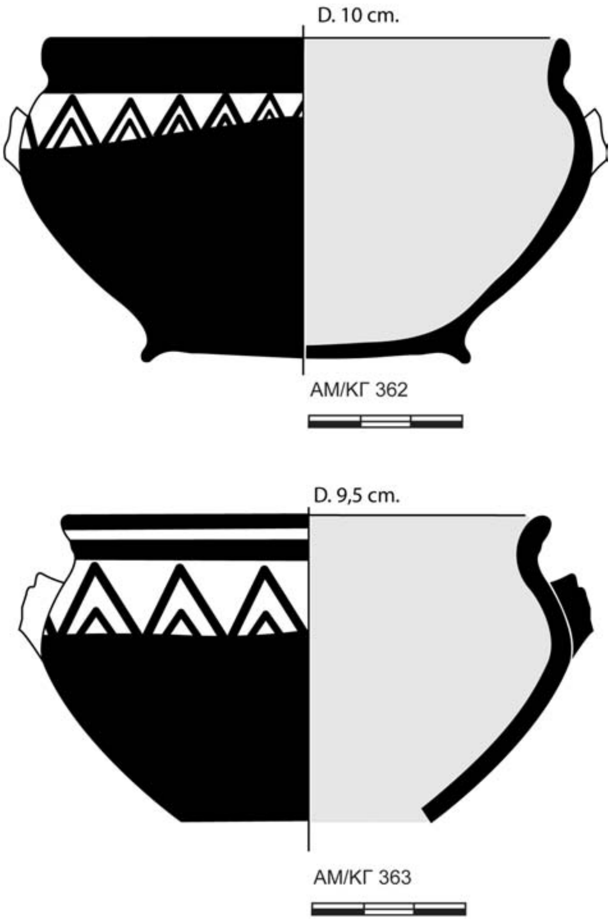

FIGURE 4.6 *Skyphoi of the early eighth century from the Amyklaion sanctuary*
DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR

with accentuated shoulders, and a low ring foot, while their decoration with superimposed triangles derives from the local PG repertory.[42] In addition, horizontal parallel lines or single zigzags, horizontal lozenge chains, meanders with diagonal hatching, and vertical bars are also alternatives to the triangles: they were introduced via MG Attic influence, even though their popularity during the LG period is closer to the Argive LG. The presence of imported wares is a new element for the sanctuary during this period; flat pyxides with tall knobs,

42 Buschor and Von Massow 1927, pl. 3.19; Margreiter 1988, pl. 9.99–103; Vlachou 2015, fig. 3.

FIGURE 4.7 *A whole and a fragmentary leg of clay tripod cauldrons from the Amyklaion sanctuary*
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

a lekythos-oinochoe with rope handle, and a few shallow skyphoi follow the Attic MG style, although the provenance for some of these pieces seems closer to the Argive specimens than to the Attic.

The presence of clay tripods with legs attached to the cauldron is of particular interest, considering the significance of their bronze counterparts in the Early Iron Age sanctuaries.[43] Only the legs and the distinctive high circular handles survive of some fine painted tripod lebetes of medium size and of clay stands dated to the second half of the eighth century. The earliest examples can be traced back to the early ninth century (fig. 4.7). The use of the bronze tripod cauldron as an object of dedication in the Amyklaian sanctuary was introduced around the same period, prior to similar dedications at other Spartan sanctuaries and among the earliest from Greek Early Iron Age sanctuaries. Their presence at this early date at the Amyklaian hill clearly demonstrates the growing ritual function of the site and at the same time indicates the wealth and social status of the participants in the activities. Nonetheless, one cannot

43 Benton 1934–1935; Snodgrass 2000, 281–285.

FIGURE 4.8 *Miniature tripod coarse ware from the Amyklaion sanctuary*
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

ignore the utilitarian aspect of tripod cauldrons,[44] which were very effective for heating meals over a fire. It is possible that some of the clay specimens from the Amyklaion may have served a similar function during the feasting practices. In addition, miniature clay tripod cauldrons were also offered at the shrine, while a large collection of small handmade tripod vessels (fig. 4.8), such as lekanai, chytrai, and small amphorae, were also found within the sanctuary deposits, most of them dating from the Geometric period. Such vessels may indicate food preparation and complement to a certain degree the information missing as a result of the scarcity of cooking wares.

At the beginning of the eighth century, an increased range of votives suggests an increase in cult activity mainly during the latter half of the century. Although the nature and the basic function of most of the pottery did not change, the increased elaboration of the drinking and dining sets and the growing numbers of imported wares of this type, mainly Argive and Corinthian, suggest an

44 For the use of cauldrons during the Athenian festivals of Pyanepsia and Thargelia either as an intended offering for the god or for the preparation of the ritual dish consumed by the participants, see Bruit 1990, 168–169; for placing the cauldron on the fire for heating water or cooking, see Benton 1934–1935, 74–75. Boiling seems to have been the most frequent cooking method in sanctuaries. Ekroth 2007, 267–268.

increased investment by the participants in the feasting equipment. The uniformity of the technical characteristics of the vessels, rather typical for the PG series, is broken in the Geometric period. Although the largest corpus of the material seems still to belong to a local production, a substantial number of different fabrics may indicate the existence of more pottery workshops in the wider area.

The emphasis on open vessels at Amykles should be taken as indicative of the importance of communal feasting activities. One-handled cups, usually of small dimensions, handmade, and covered in black glaze or painted with vertical stripes all over their surface, become equally common. A new shape is the one-handled deep cup with almost vertical walls and a lip diameter that does not exceed 0.14 m (fig. 4.9). Skyphoi with a tall, slightly off-set lip and broad body are the standard drinking form of the LG period cups. The shape should be considered the immediate predecessor of the Lakonian lakaina,[45] a shape inextricably related to Lakonian drinking practices of the Archaic period.[46] Kantharoi with high strap handles are less common, but not absent in the assemblages throughout this period. An addition to the late eighth-century repertory is the broad shallow dish, usually with two horizontal handles attached at the rim and a low ring base. Thick light colored slip is applied on the surface of some specimens; the large size of these vessels should indicate a votive rather than a practical character and probably were used to hold food offerings or other perishable materials.[47] Smaller plates and lekanides with a deeper profile seem ideal for the consumption of food.

Kraters increased in number and size during the second half of the eighth century and were elaborately decorated, reflecting an increasing investment in material display. A fairly large number of imported finely-decorated Argive kraters could reflect the interregional fame of the sanctuary and of the festival during the second half of the eighth century. Local kraters, although much more fragmentary in the assemblages, seem similar to the type already distinguished by Droop from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.[48] The large size of those vessels, and the fact that some were completely burnt (in contrast to the rest of the material, which only rarely shows any traces of fire), may suggest

45 Coldstream 1968, 215–216; Stibbe 1994, 21–24.

46 Droop 1907–1908, 31 no. 3; Lane 1933–1934, 102–104; Pelagatti 1956, 22; Coldstream 1968, 215–216; Stibbe 1990, 73–113; 1994, 19–24.

47 Shape and decoration are very close to those from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (see Droop 1907–1908, 59 fig. 33, 61 fig. 34) and Argos (see Courbin 1966, pl. 67 C. 2570, C. 4128).

48 Droop 1907–1908, 57 fig. 31 b. For a similar although later krater from the Menelaion, see Stibbe 1994, 22–23, fig. A.

4.9 *Fragmentary one-handled deep cup. Late Geometric period*
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

their use as ritual utensils during the celebrations and not merely as containers of food or liquids for the ritual feasts. Large amphorae appear for the first time during this period in the pottery assemblages, presumably reflecting a new provision of food and drink compared to previous periods.

Feasting and Ritual Practice at Amykles: Preliminary Considerations

Material evidence demonstrates that feasting held a prominent place among the ritual activities at Amykles covering the whole period from the final stage of the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age onward. The incomplete nature of all the vessels from the deposits, their well-preserved surfaces, and the sharp fractured edges of most of the pieces all point to a deliberate ritual breakage after their use during the dining activities.[49] The good preservation of the ceramic material and the breakage pattern of the sherds from the deposits indicate that

49 Greenewalt 1978, 10–11; Morgan 1999, 323–324; D'Agatha 2000; Denti 2013a; 2013b.

the material must have been disposed of soon after consumption at the shrine. A large-scale cleaning of the space seems to have taken place in the late eighth century when the earliest enclosure wall of the sanctuary was built, and then again during the late Archaic period, in connection with the construction of the Throne for Apollo and the monumental peribolos wall that defined the sanctuary area. A few vessels from the deposits along the peribolos wall show traces of burning and interestingly enough most of those pieces belong to large finely-decorated local LG kraters. It seems possible that these vessels served as ritual utensils during the rituals, and were either dedicated (presumably as containers of food or other perishable materials) or were deliberately broken in the fire during the rituals, probably as an act of sacralization.[50]

No evidence exists for contemporary constructions on the hill that may have facilitated the communal gatherings during this early period. It is only possible to suggest that the large circular stone altar that formed the center of the cultic activities from the late Archaic period seems to have replaced an older ash altar in the same area. We may see in the circular form of the altar and the stepped contour a possible reference to the earlier form at the same area. It may be assumed that drinking and dining activities took place near the altar, most probably in the open air. It would seem that even in the later phases of the sanctuary, there never existed a specific construction to house feasting activities during the successive phases of the Hyakinthia. From the Archaic period onward the sanctuary housed the Throne with the statue of Apollo, the tomb of Hyakinthos, the altar, and presumably a stoa and a propylon,[51] however no evidence exists to fix a location for dining. It is possible that until the late eighth/early seventh century, when the earliest enclosure wall was erected around the foot of the hill, no permanent structures occupied the top. In this case, all the feasting and cultic equipment would have been transferred by the participants on the event of the festivities. The mixed character of the deposits around the supposed area of the altar and along the peribolos wall seem to indicate that there was no permanent structure to stock the votive offerings and that they seem to have been swept periodically along with the rest of the material.

Although it is not possible to argue on the exact form of the festival during this early period, figured pottery provides us with images of joyful celebrations with a specific focus on initiation ceremonies of the youths.[52] Male dancers and

50 D'Agata 2000; Denti 2013b.

51 Delivorias 2009, 134; Vlizos 2009, 13.

52 Brulé 1992; Calame 1997, 182–183.

FIGURE 4.10 *Figured decorated skyphos from the Amyklaion sanctuary. Late Geometric period*
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

athletes and female choruses are commonly shown on the surface of drinking vessels, namely, kraters and skyphoi, and only rarely on other shapes. The decoration seems to draw its inspiration from concurrent ritual practices, possibly integrated within the already established religious festival at the site. A fragment of a small skyphos (fig. 4.10) is much more difficult to interpret, possibly also depicting a moment of a specific ritual act.

Two clay figures were found in the deposits at the Amyklaion and date to the late eighth century. Only the heads of the figures survive, one female wearing a polos and the other a male with a helmet. They are very similar in technique and decoration and were probably made to be dedicated together at the sanctuary.[53] The height of the heads is approximately 0.10 m and thus an estimated original height of about 0.40 m has been suggested, close to the average size of clay figures of the seventh century. Clay human figures of large size reappear in the EIA almost exclusively in sanctuaries and cult areas, interpreted either as the symbolic image of the worshippers or the actual venerated deities.[54] Although the identification of the male figure as an early image of Apollo is far from certain,[55] the presence of what seems like a male-female pair among the votives is tantalizing and leads to questions about the character of the ritual practices that tok place during the Hyakinthia festival.

53 Demakopoulou 1982, 54–56 and pls. 25–26; 2015, 105–106 and figs. 1–2; Langdon 1998; Vlachou 2017, 25–31.

54 Kourou 2000; 2002.

55 Georgoulaki 1994; Langdon 2008, 276–279.

Concluding Remarks

This paper proposes that drinking and dining at the Amyklaian hill served as the crucial factor in maintaining the memory of the place and constituted a coherent link in the ritual continuity from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age. This suggestion focuses almost exclusively on the study of the material evidence from the earlier phases of the sanctuary (late eleventh to late eighth century) and on the treatment of the feasting equipment that constitutes the largest corpus of evidence during the same period. The early phases of the sanctuary at Amykles coincide with cultural shifts and ritual developments that are frequently difficult to completely understand on the basis of the study of the material assemblages alone. There remain unanswered questions regarding those early activities from the late eleventh century onward. What remains indisputable is the prominent role of feasting throughout the early history of the sanctuary. What is equally apparent through the study of the material assemblages is the shifting character of those feasts to better serve the ritual and social structure. In this way drinking at the Amyklaion seems to have formed the core of the ritual activity during the earliest stages, while later the dedication of votive offerings and the conspicuous display of material wealth even during the ritual feasts received exceptional attention.

Material evidence shows that the number of people and the frequency of the activities greatly declined from the mid/late eleventh to the early tenth century. However, the site was not forgotten and human activity never ceased completely. Eating and drinking at the Amyklaion would have served as a coherent link between earlier activity and the beginnings of cult in the Early Iron Age. By the mid-tenth century the Amyklaian hill becomes the focus of interest for the communities living in the vicinity. While drinking and dining activities are clearly demonstrated in the material record, the assemblages include a collection of vessel forms unrelated to drinking or dining, such as lekythoi and small-sized hydriai, which seem to have held some kind of liquid offerings, as well as clay figurines, spindle whorls, and miniature handmade vessels that may only be understood as dedications within a cultic context. The homogeneity of the ceramic material demonstrates the local character of the activities. Early connections with the Argolid, and probably Asine, may be traced in the pottery assemblages from both regions,[56] while a further opening may be claimed by the early/mid-ninth century. A few Lakonian sherds of PG style were found

56 Wells 1983, 19, 42, 64, 83; reviewed by Langdon 1985; Coldstream 1985; Vlachou 2015, 116.

on the way to the area of Vrasies,[57] which seems to have connected Sparta and the sites of the Argolid Gulf. Further to the north, a large amount of Lakonian sherds of PG style were found in a large deposit that has been associated with a presumably open-air shrine under the pronaos of the late Classical temple at Tegea.[58]

The earliest material evidence from the other sanctuaries of the Spartan plain should also be dated to the late tenth/early ninth century on stylistic grounds. Only a few sherds have been reported from the acropolis of Sparta, the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos, the Heroon, and the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.[59] Further to the south of Sparta on the west of the Eurotas plain, a few PG sherds have been reported from the area of Anthochori, where a sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus has been identified.[60] Still, the few PG sherds that predate the Geometric material at the Spartan sanctuaries cannot be compared to the large corpus of material from Amykles, and it seems rather probable that the Amyklaian hill was the focus of regional activity during the whole period from the late eleventh to the late tenth century. We may further suggest that the uninterrupted activity on the hill, with its Mycenaean pedigree and the early beginnings of the Early Iron Age shrine, could have been among the reasons for the significance of Amykles during the process of the creation of the Spartan polis and the importance of its festival among the state cults of Sparta.

The latter half of the ninth century represents the second important stage in the development of the sanctuary. The introduction of new shapes in the local feasting equipment, a visible growth of non-Lakonian ware that reached its climax in the second half of the eighth century, and new forms of dedication, such as clay and bronze tripods, demonstrate a clear change in the nature of the wealth investment by the participants in the feasts and rituals. Elaborate offerings, metal dedications, and imported goods display competitive interactions between the local communities and mark a significant change to the homogeneity of the material assemblages and ritual practices of earlier periods. The Early Iron Age shrine at the Amyklaion seems to have progressively evolved to a stage of competitive display reflecting contemporary social, economic, and even political developments.

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57 Cave Sitzas: Faklaris 1990, 159–169, pl. 72c–d. For Prasies or Vrasies: Faklaris 1990, 129–137.

58 The beginnings of the cult are dated around the late tenth century, although an earlier date cannot be excluded. Voyatzis 1990, 269–273; 2004, 188–190, fig. 2; 2005; Østby et al. 1994, 134.

59 Coulson 1985; Eder 1998, 107–109; Zavvou and Themos 2009.

60 Zavvou 2009, 29–31, fig. 4.7.

M. Pettersson has argued that around the same period, the late ninth century, prestige and power of the local ruling elites (the Agiadai, the Eurypontidai, and the Aigeiadai) should have been largely based on the control of the most important cults of the later Spartan polis.[61] The period from the end of the ninth to the late eighth century has been generally seen as a prolonged period of internal struggles, economic pressures, and increasing competition among the ruling families. The settlements of the Lakonians on Thera (ca. 800) and at Taras (ca. 700) are among the events that marked this period, possibly caused by the contemporary social and economic upheaval.[62] The annexation of Amykles into the Spartan polis and the creation of Spartan territory through the synoecism of the five villages (Pitana, Mesoa, Kynosoura, Limnai, and Amykles) have been placed around the same period (ca. 760–740). According to the tradition, the incorporation of Amykles occurred in a warlike context that seems to reflect a period of struggles and oppositions.[63] In this context, the Amyklaian sanctuary should have had an important symbolic and cultic status in the definition of the Spartan territory, mainly due to its seniority compared to the rest of the cult places in the plain and its Mycenaean pedigree. It thus is possible that the motivation behind the annexation of Amykles was control over the Hyakinthia festival. Thus, the importance of Amykles rests equally on its role as a territorial landmark in the Spartan plain and the significance of its religious role in the formation of the new polis institutions.

The second half of the eighth century coincides with a peak in the activity at the Amyklaion and the third important stage in the early history of the sanctuary. The large corpus of material, the elaboration of the feasting equipment, and the various categories of votive offerings soundly demonstrate the importance of the cult at Amykles in the religious life of the Spartan polis. The tradition that associates the Hyakinthia festival with the events that led to the foundation of Taras (ca. 706) offers more support to the existence of the festival already at an early date, serving thus as fixed point of chronological reference.

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61 Pettersson 1992, 105–106, 109–112. For the character of Sparta as a conglomerate of villages, see Thuc. 1.10.2. It has been argued that until the third century, the Spartan territory was occupied by small scattered settlements with the burial grounds in the adjacent areas. Stibbe 1989, 69. See also Zavvou and Themos 2009; Kennell and Luraghi 2009, 240–241, 245–247.

62 Pelagatti1956, 7–44; Malkin 1994, 67–142; Nafissi 1999; Hall 2009, 111–114.

63 This situation has been largely discussed as the struggle between two culturally different populations, the Achaian Amykles and the Dorian Sparta. See Cartledge 2002, 92–106. Pettersson (1992, 106–112) views this situation as the outcome of interregional struggles between the aristocratic elites.

The construction of the first enclosure wall around the foot of the hill in the late eighth/early seventh century may be taken as additional evidence for the consolidation of the ritual activities that took place on the hill in the form of a religious festival. By the end of the eighth century, a remodeling of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Limnai and the foundation of the cult of Menelaos and Helen manifest parallel transformations of religious practice. The dedication of bronze tripods, weapons, jewelry, and various offerings emphasize the role of the sanctuary as the stage for competitive display among the early elites. A similar situation may be argued for the rest of the Spartan sanctuaries, presumably reflecting a Spartan growth and expansion during the same period as the foundation of Taras and the successful outcome in the First Messenian War.[64]

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64 Parker 1991; Malkin 1994, 67–142; Nafissi 2009, 117–124; Kennell and Luraghi 2009, 249–251.

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CHAPTER 5

Consuming the Wild: More Thoughts on the Andreion*

James Whitley and Richard Madgwick

Introduction

In 1901, R.C. Bosanquet, then Director of the British School at Athens, conducted a number of investigations in and around the ancient city of Praisos in East Crete.[1] One of the areas he excavated comprised a number of houses on the northwestern flank of the so-called First Acropolis of that city, where (having also briefly investigated a number of houses) he came across a Classical building (fifth or fourth century) that was much larger than the houses he had previously encountered, much more complex internally, and built with an impressive facade of ashlar limestone blocks.[2] This structure he referred to,

* Acknowledgements: the study of the animal bones for this paper was undertaken in the spring of 2013 and 2015 (with financial assistance from INSTAP) at the Ayios Antonios study center at Palaikastro, with the permission and help of Hugh Sackett and Sandy MacGillivray (who run it) and with a study permit granted by the ΚΔ Ephoreia of Eastern Crete (currently run by Chryssa Sophianou) obtained through the good offices of the British School at Athens. The animal bones were analyzed by Richard Madgwick during a British Academy postdoctoral fellowship. We are grateful to Matthew Law (Cardiff Ph.D student) for comments on the molluscan remains. During subsequent study at the British School tavern at Knossos much help was obtained from Matthew Haysom (the then curator), and from Peter Callaghan (and his expertise in Cretan Hellenistic pottery). Our Cardiff colleague Laurence Totelin helped with literary references. We have also greatly benefited from comments from Donald Haggis (on Azoria matters) and from Jenny Moody, who kindly supplied references to DNA studies of the *agrimi*. Finally, this article would not have been written without the kind invitation of Josine Blok and Floris van den Eijnde.

1 Before Bosanquet the site had also been investigated by Halbherr (Halbherr 1901; see now Whitley 2015, 28–31). Praisos is not strictly speaking 'Greek' but 'Eteocretan' (Perlman 2004, 1183–1184 no. 984), a fact which makes the history of its exploration somewhat unusual (see Whitley 1998; 2006a; Whitley et al. 1995, 405–407; Whitley 2015). This fact raises the question of the relationship between ethnicity and material culture.

2 Bosanquet 1901–1902, 259–270.

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inconsistently, as the Almond Tree House and the Andreion (more specifically Dosiadas's [*FrGrHist* 458 Fr2] *koimeterion*). In this he was being very much true to his Classical education, for the *andreion* is an institution we know quite a lot about from a number of ancient literary sources of Classical, Hellenistic, and later date. Our earliest literary reference is in Alkman (Page 1962, 98, quoted in Strabo 10.4.18), who seems to be referring to a Spartan institution where male citizens strengthen bonds by dining together in mess halls. Later sources from Aristotle onwards[3] refer to this institution or a similar one known as the *syssition* (eating together). Though both *andreion* and the *syssition* seem to refer to the same thing they are not quite synonyms: the latter emphasizes the fact of commensality, of eating together; the former the institution's strong masculine associations. Bosanquet's interpretation is therefore entirely in keeping with a tradition where we look in the archaeological record to find correlates of what we already know from the literary—that is, archaeology as illustration of an already known Classical world.

Though we would not in any way endorse this position, one of the things we will be doing in this paper is vindicating parts of Bosanquet's original interpretation. The reasons why we think commensality and citizenship might be connected are several. First, as anthropologists have observed and as has been theorized in the introduction to this volume, eating and dining together often helps to form bonds that cut across kinship.[4] In the ancient world (and especially in Athens) there are plenty of examples of commensality used to form bonds between largely male citizens.[5] Now of course it may well be that the 'citizen states'[6] of the ancient world were not purely masculine affairs: if Josine Blok is right, then participation in other forms of commensality (notably the feasts that accompanied acts of sacrifice in major festivals) might be what defines a 'citizen.'[7] In that case women could (to some degree) be citizens too. But it does seem clear that, in all Greek states and in every region of the Greek-speaking Mediterranean, it was the men not the women who made the major

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3 Arist. *Pol.* 1272a 3; Plut. *Lyc.* 12.1; Strabo 10.4.16; 10.4.18; 10.4.20; 10.4.21 (quoting Ephoros); Dosiadas *FrGrHist* 458 Fr2 (quoted in Athenaeus); Pyrgion *FrGrHist* 467 Fr1. We are not going to enter here into a debate about the relationship between the 'Spartan' *syssition* and the 'Cretan' *andreion*, since both terms are used for the Cretan institution. See now Whitley 2018, 231–234.

4 Dietler 1996; 2001. See also the contribution by Alexandridou in this volume.

5 Schmitt Pantel 1990.

6 We use the word in Runciman's sense, in preference to 'city-state' (Runciman 1990). Most cities of the ancient world formed parts of states, but not all ancient states had citizens.

7 Blok 2014; Blok 2017; Blok this volume.

political decisions, which were more often than not linked to questions of war and peace. Political decision-making and warfare remained pre-eminently parts of the masculine sphere.

One of the other, more broadly comparative interests we have in commensality is in explaining how it is that the polis could function at all as a state. It may seem obvious to most Classical scholars that most reasonably-sized poleis were states[8]—power structures which were effective in maintaining a monopoly of legal authority and force within their bounds. But it is not so obvious to those from outside the sphere of Classical studies. Comparative anthropologists of the Michigan school have questioned whether most (if indeed any) Greek poleis were states in the true sense[9]—many echoing Norman Yoffee's view that if you can question whether a particular polity is a state, then it is not.[10] By that criterion fifth-century Athens is not a state (as it has been questioned on precisely these grounds).[11] This is (we think) absurd. Yet, while it may be relatively easy to refute this point in the case of Athens, it is much more difficult to do so in the case of other poleis. In particular, the 49 or so poleis of Archaic and Classical Crete are very small by the standards of Archaic states.[12] One of us has argued elsewhere that at least the larger and the medium-sized political communities of Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic Crete must be seen as examples of states.[13] We would argue that part of the explanation for how such small entities managed to function as states, and did so without recourse to elaborate administrative mechanisms, was through commensality. The bonds so formed obviated the need for a more 'top-down' hierarchical structure of the kind familiar from the ancient Near East. This hypothesis provides another, wider reason for looking at commensality in general, and ancient Crete in particular.

These considerations have implications for our understanding of that peculiar form of political Cretan commensality, the *andreion*. That this institution was well established in Crete by the end of the Archaic period is something which has been confirmed by epigraphic as well as textual sources—we are

8 This statement does not imply that all the 1035 *poleis* listed in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) were states. Some clearly were too small to count as states, judged in comparative terms. For the implications of this definition for Crete, see Hatzimichael and Whitley 2012.

9 Marcus 1998.

10 Yoffee 1993, 69.

11 Berent 2000.

12 Perlman 2004.

13 Whitley 2014.

not dependent on the outsider's (chiefly the Athenian) view for appreciating its 'emic' importance.[14] But research into the *andreion* and into Cretan forms of commensality has been inhibited by five factors:

1. The overwhelming bias toward finds of 'Minoan' date, the relative neglect of later periods, and the notion that 1200 or 1100 B.C. forms an insuperable barrier within Cretan history and archaeology[15]
2. The tendency within traditional Classical archaeology to identify an institution with a particular architectural form (e.g., the *prytaneion*), and the consequent expectation that there will be an identifiable building type associated with the *andreion*
3. The reluctance to look at deposits as records of behavior, rather than as providing information on relative dating (that is, in adopting a contextual approach)
4. The dearth of specialists in disciplines of zooarchaeology and archaeobotany working on post-Minoan Crete
5. Partly as a result of this scarcity, the lack of integration between the work of ceramic specialists and that of specialists in the study of ancient flora and fauna (that is, what might be called archaeobotany and archaeozoology)

Happily, this situation is now changing. The Azoria project attempts to integrate all kinds of evidence which may be relevant to understanding both Cretan polities and Cretan commensality.[16] Archaic and Classical Cretan pottery is being looked at as a record of a certain kind of cultural behavior and thus as relevant to issues of commensality.[17] And at least one ambitious archaeological synthesis has appeared, which gives these issues the prominence they deserve.[18] With this in mind, let us return to Praisos.

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14 Inscriptions that mention the *andreion* include Archaic examples from Eltynia (next to Knossos) (*I.Cret.* I.10.2) and Axos (*I.Cret.* II.4.1); and two from Gortyn (*I.Cret.* IV.4, line 4 [early sixth century]; *I.Cret.* IV.75, line B.9 [fifth century]). The word also figures prominently on the Spensithios inscription (Jeffery and Morpugo-Davis 1970, 143–144, side B, lines 10 and 12). Understanding this institution comprises a major theme in the exploration of ancient Azoria (Haggis and Mook 2013). See discussion in Prent 2005, 441–476 and Whitley (2018, 231–234).

15 But see Whitley 2006b; Cadogan et al. 2012a.

16 Haggis and Mook 2013.

17 Erickson 2010a; 2011.

18 Wallace 2010.

Praisos: The 2007 Excavation Season

When a team from the British School at Athens returned to excavate Praisos in 2007, three main trenches were opened. One (A-100) lay between two walls which abutted the Almond Tree House, and produced a negligible quantity of finds which were not well stratified.[19] The two main trenches (A-200 and A-300) however lay just below Bosanquet's Almond Tree House, with A-200 to the north and A-300 to the south and closer to the main ashlar wall of the House (fig. 5.1). Our principal research questions related to houses and domestic space, and to whether there was anything particularly Eteocretan about Praisos's houses as opposed to those of any other Cretan city. By the end of the season we had reached floor levels in both main trenches. In trench A-200 we could identify a floor, with a hearth and the remains of several pithoi (some very old indeed), which must represent an abandonment horizon (circa 145–140 B.C.);[20] in trench A-300 there was some surviving architecture to show that the site was not simply 'destroyed' (if by that we mean deliberately fired), but that the inhabitants were forced to leave after the Hierapytnan takeover.[21] But to reach these floor levels we had to go through quite a lot of debris, or (as Greek archaeologists would put it) μπάζα. For in this area Bosanquet had placed his dump. Or, as he put it:[22]

> Care was taken so to dispose of the earth and stones as to improve the surrounding property, broad new terraces being formed on the slope below, which had been a mere moraine of tumbled ruins.

But it was not simply earth and stones that we uncovered in these upper layers. There were huge quantities of pottery (both fine and coarse) and tile, as well as a number of loom weights and spindle whorls. Between 2008 and 2015 we washed, weighed, and counted the sherds, tile, and other finds.[23] All the material has now been processed. These finds comprise 24,970 sherds and tile from 176 zembils weighing a total of 556.414 kg.[24]

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19 Whitley 2011, 9–10.

20 Whitley 2011, 20–32.

21 Whitley 2011, 32–35 and 41–43.

22 Bosanquet 1901–1902, 260.

23 The 2015 season completed the preliminary processing of all the finds. The first draft of this paper was written before the 2015 study season took place. There were few grounds for revising our conclusions on the basis of what we found in 2015.

24 In this excavation, a zembil (bucket) is a subunit of a context or layer and is numbered

FIGURE 5.1 *Photo of trenches A-200 and A-300 during excavation in June/July 2007*
COURTESY AUTHOR, PHOTO ORIGINALLY TAKEN BY SHERI PAK

It became clear to us that these deposits were not homogeneous; that is, though they were clearly re-deposited, they were not entirely mixed up. There were marked differences in the proportions of fine wares and coarse wares, and in other finds. One difference was the recovery, in trench A-200 but not in trench A-300, of two terracottas of decidedly masculine character.[25] More significant for any discussion of commensality is the recovery of large numbers of fragments of painted but plain drinking cups from these upper deposits. These cups belong clearly to the Cretan 'necked cup' category, first identified by Peter

as such. Zembil here does not refer to the system devised by Sinclair Hood in the 1950s and still used in many British School excavations, where groups of pots are numbered in a continuous series. The trenches were excavated using the standard British method of single context excavation, but subunits (zembils) were created to provide further spatial control over deposits (Whitley 2011, 8–9), e.g., to group sherds which may have come from the same pot. So the sherds of pithoi from the floor level of trench A-200 are numbered A-216.15 and so forth, representing subunits of the floor level 216. Some numbering features (especially the numbering of the trenches) incorporate features (the locus system) used in the excavation of Azoria (after advice from Sheri Pak).

25 Whitley 2011, 16–19.

Callaghan from the deposit at the shrine of Glaukos in Knossos and dating to Classical times.[26] Our cups come in at least four distinct fabrics, not all of which can have been local, and can be identified particularly through the distinctive neck-shoulder joins. Local varieties of these cups of sixth and fifth century date have been studied by Brice Erickson,[27] and ours seem to be very similar (though some must be later). These cups, though plain (i.e., painted black), are not carelessly or crudely made—many are very fine indeed, having wall thicknesses of 0.003 or even 0.002 m. Cups fragments occur in proportions of between 2 % and 20 % of the assemblage (counted by number of sherds) in different contexts in these upper layers.

Arguments have been put forward elsewhere that the rise in such plain vessels during the sixth and fifth centuries represents a deliberate Cretan turning away from 'symposium culture.'[28] Drinking in plain (but finely made) vessels was a means of emphasizing equality between male citizens. Whatever you think of this hypothesis, it is remarkable that such cups are not generally found in quantity in 'domestic' deposits in Crete, such as those encountered at Knossos.[29] Where attempts have been made to retain all the finds it seems clear that these Classical and Hellenistic plain cups often appear in concentrations—that is, distinct cup deposits. Examples include the Classical deposit at Priniatikos Pyrgos,[30] the surface concentration of Archaic to Classical cups in site 14 of the Praisos survey,[31] and the deposit from the shrine of Glaukos at Knossos itself.[32] Such concentrations cannot represent normal domestic practices. They must have been formed as the result of some special occasion.

So is Bosanquet's Andreion an *andreion*? There are three points in favor of this interpretation:[33]

26 Callaghan 1978.

27 Erickson 2010a, 198–220.

28 Whitley 2009, 284–291 and Whitley 2018, 238–244.

29 Domestic deposits (filled-in wells and fragments of floors) of Classical and Hellenistic date from Knossos comprise those from the 'Venizeleion trials' and Royal Road (Coldstream 1999), the Little Palace Well (Callaghan 1981), and upper layers of the Unexplored Mansion (Callaghan 1992). No quantification of these published finds has been attempted here, as the published finds have been selected for their historical and aesthetic interest, with a bias in favor of decorated fine wares.

30 Erickson 2010b.

31 Whitley et al. 1999, 249–251; Erickson 2010a, 198–220.

32 Callaghan 1978.

33 Whitley 2011, 41.

1. The large number of Cretan drinking vessels, of kinds associated with other 'ritual' deposits (e.g., shrine of Glaukos at Knossos)
2. The two terracotta plaques with explicitly masculine iconography, a fact which sets this deposit apart from most such plaque deposits in East Crete, particularly those from Roussa Ekklesia[34]
3. The size and architectural sophistication of the building, which is far in excess of any identifiable house in Classical or Hellenistic Crete[35]

These points do not yet take into account study of the animal bones.

The Animal Bones

In the 2007 excavation we had carefully kept all the animal bones, separating them out by context and zembil. We were not able to study them however until 2013. In March–April 2013 we were able to undertake primary study of the bones and relate them to contexts.[36] In total 4358 fragments from almost all contexts weighing no more than 5.531 kg were examined. Of these, 617 fragments were identifiable to mammalian or avian taxonomic categories (fig. 5.2). A further 59 were molluscan and included limpets, cockles, oysters, and land snails.

The analysis of the animal bones also shed light on the nature of the upper deposits, i.e., those from Bosanquet's dump. Just as there are marked differences in the proportions of different sherd types from the upper deposits, so the animal bones were not found in consistent proportions throughout. Species and element representation varied across contexts and some patterns of deposition were observable. This fact suggests that the *contexts* we have identified retain some integrity, and thus represent deposits that result from some kind of ancient activity, albeit smeared by Bosanquet's re-depositing of his excavated material.[37] Bosanquet's dump is a coherent dump; Bosanquet's workmen did not mix up finds randomly, but preserved in part the contexts from the excavation of the Almond Tree House (mixed, to be sure, with some material from houses further up the hill).

34 Erickson 2009; Whitley 2011, 16–19, 40–41.

35 See Westgate 2007.

36 The bones were looked at again in the 2015 study season. While some modifications were made to our conclusions and to the dataset, the interpretation arrived at the end of the study season in 2013 remains substantially the same.

37 Bosanquet 1901–1902, 260.

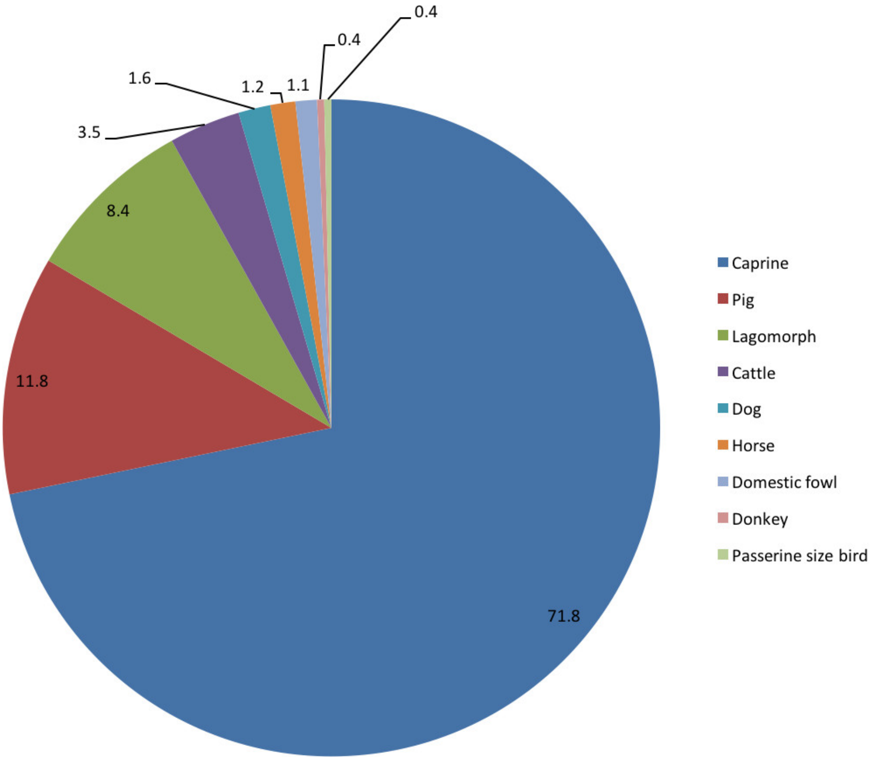

FIGURE 5.2 *Percentages of the Number of Identified Specimens (NISP) of mammalian and avian taxa from all deposits from Praisos 2007 (n= 570). Data does not include the recovered sheep skeleton.*

Figure 5.2 shows a pie chart of the whole assemblage, giving percentages of specimens represented by different taxa. Table 5.1 presents this data by taxonomic category, quantifying by the Number of Identified Specimens (NISP, essentially a raw fragment count) and by the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI, based on repeating parts of the same sided elements). In table 5.1, the taxa are ranked by NISP figures. The assemblage was dominated by caprines (sheep/goat), representing 71.8% of the specimens. Pig (11.8%) and cattle (3.5%) were also represented in percentages that seem normal for Crete;[38] horse, donkey, and some small bird species were also identified. Marine molluscs were recovered in modest quantities but no fish were identified (although this may relate partially to recovery strategy).

38 See Moody 2012.

TABLE 5.1 *NISP (Number of Identified Specimens), NISP percentage, and MNI (Minimum Number of Individuals) figures for fauna from all deposits from the 2007 excavation season at Praisos. *Does not include sheep skeleton. **Small equid consistent with* Equus a. asinus.

Taxon	NISP	NISP %	MNI
Caprine (sheep/goat)*	409	71.8 %	14
Pig	67	11.8 %	2
Lagomorph (hare/rabbit)	48	8.4 %	8
Cattle	20	3.5 %	1
Dog	9	1.6 %	1
Horse	7	1.2 %	1
Domestic fowl	6	1.1 %	1
Donkey**	2	0.4 %	1
Passerine size bird	2	0.4 %	1
TOTAL	570	n/a	n/a

At first sight the overall deposit is not that unusual when compared to other Early Iron Age to Hellenistic settlement deposits from Crete (table 5.2). Cretan deposits tend to be dominated by caprines.[39] Caprines prevail over other species consumed in Geometric Kavousi[40] and Gortyn,[41] Archaic Azoria,[42] Iron Age to Hellenistic Prinias,[43] and Hellenistic and later Eleutherna.[44] Percentages of specimens vary between 58 % and 80 % of the assemblage. With cattle only 3.5 % of identified specimens, consumption of beef seems to have been less important at Praisos than at these other settlement deposits. The proportions of pig in our deposit (11.8 %) are also slightly lower.[45] Our pig assemblage

39 Moody 2012.

40 Klippel and Snyder 1991.

41 Profitis Ilias: Wilkens 2003, 87 table 8.4.

42 Haggis et al. 2004; 2007.

43 Wilkens 2003, 87 table 8.3.

44 Nobis 2003.

45 Some literary evidence may be relevant here. There is a story about the third century writer Agathocles of Cyzicus (Ath. *Deipnosophistae* ix. 375f–376a = *FrGrHist* 472 Fr1) that the Praisioi held pigs sacred and sacrificed to them. Would then we expect to find *fewer* pigs consumed in Praisos than elsewhere in Crete? As in many cases, the exact material implications of this story are unclear.

TABLE 5.2 *Proportions of identified specimens of sheep/goat, pig, cattle, and other from Iron Age to Hellenistic settlement deposits from Crete for comparison with Praisos. Data from Moody 2012, 238 table 14.3 (and references therein). *Based on 25 specimens that could be identified to species, precise ratio is 1.3:1.*

Site	Phase	Ratio sheep:goat	% sheep/goat	% pig	% cattle	% other
Kavousi Kastro	LMIIIC-G	2:1	80%	9%	8%	3%
Prinias Patela	Iron Age (PG-G)	9:1	72%	17%	7%	4%
Profitis Ilias (Gortyn)	8th Ct	No goats?	68%	17%	10%	5%
Azoria *andreion* kitchens	8th–6th Cts	?	78%	60 NISP	8 NISP	?
Prinias Patela	Hellenistic	1:1	61%	20%	14%	5%
Eleutherna	Hellenistic-Byzantine	?	58%	25%	17%	0%?
Praisos	Classical-Hellenistic (500–140)	1:1*	72%	12%	4%	12%

did however reveal patterns relating to sex. Due to sexually dimorphic canine teeth, sex can be more frequently determined for pigs than most other mammals. Nine of eleven sexable pig teeth were male. Little emphasis should be placed on such a small sample but it hints that males may have been preferentially selected for consumption or sacrifice.

A similar picture emerges when we look at comparable 'ritual' deposits (table 5.3). Sheep/goat continues to dominate at Prinias, in earlier (but not later) deposits at the sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos,[46] and from later deposits at Kommos. The proportions are not quite so high, however: closer to 50–60% (Demeter excluded) than the 70–80% from settlement deposits. Again, leaving the sanctuary of Demeter aside, proportions of pig are much the same for 'ritual' deposits as for settlements, but proportions of cattle seem higher. While these data provide useful insights into inter-site variation, comparisons remain relatively coarse, as varied recovery strategies and recording proto-

46 The high numbers of pig in the later deposits from the sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos in Classical and later times are not unusual by the standards of sanctuaries of Demeter on the mainland. Pigs were normally sacrificed to Demeter. The contrast between the proportions of animals consumed here in the eighth/seventh century and those in later times is the best indicator of when the area referred to as the sanctuary of Demeter actually became a sanctuary dedicated to Demeter (Jarman 1973, contra Coldstream 1973).

TABLE 5.3 *Proportions of identified specimens of sheep/goat, pig, cattle, and other from Iron Age to Hellenistic sanctuary deposits from Crete for comparison with Praisos. Information selected from Moody 2012, 238 table 14.3 (and references therein, plus Jones 1978 [shrine of Glaukos]).*

Sanctuary	Phase	Ratio sheep:goat	% sheep/goat	% pig	% cattle	% other
Prinias Patela temple	Iron Age (PG-G)	(unknown)	68%	10%	16%	6%
Kommos temple A	10th–8th Ct	?	56%	17%	22%	5%
Knossos Demeter sanctuary	8th–7th Ct	5:1	54%	17%	17%	12%
Kommos temple B	8th–6th Ct	?	59%	14%	21%	6%
Knossos Demeter sanctuary	5th–4th Ct	5:1	6%	91%	0%	3%
Knossos shrine of Glaukos	5th–2nd Ct (Classical-Hellenistic)	?	56%	8%	2%	34%
Knossos Demeter sanctuary	3rd–2nd Ct	5:1	5%	94%	1%	0%
Knossos Demeter sanctuary	1st Ct–2nd Ct AD	5:1	5%	92%	1%	2%
Kommos temple C	375 BC–170 AD	N/A	42%	38%	20%	0%
Praisos	Classical-Hellenistic (500–140)	1:1	72%	12%	4%	12%

cols will cause some bias in the datasets. However, this inconsistency will not impact on broad patterns of variation.

In sum, the proportions of sheep/goat from Praisos are in general more in line with settlement than sanctuary deposits. There does not seem to be any clear pattern for cattle or pig in either category of deposit. The closest comparandum for Praisos as regards cattle seems to be the two sanctuaries from Classical to Hellenistic Knossos (Demeter and Glaukos). Only the shrine of Glaukos has quite the same proportion of 'other' as our site.

There are some other unusual features about our deposit. The first was the presence and character of marine molluscs in the assemblage. A total of 59 fragments were recovered. Most of the taxa represented were inedible and even those that could be eaten (e.g., limpet) were of far too small a size to be of any nutritional value. Praisos is located well away from the coast and it is surprising that these shells were brought to this hilltop location. Second, the proportions of species showed clear patterns between deposits. One deposit in trench A-200 (207.4) consisted of a near-complete butchered sheep skeleton, which is likely to have been from an animal that was consumed and deposited in a short space of time. Third, very little evidence of processing (in terms of butchery or charring) was observed in the assemblage. Only 0.7% of the bones had been

burnt, only 0.1% chopped, and only 0.6% cut. There are disarticulation cuts, but no signs of filleting. Evidence for the smashing of bones to extract marrow was also very scarce. Exploiting the full nutritional value of the animals slaughtered seems not to have been the motivation behind these butchery practices, in marked contrast to the situation in Geometric Kavousi Kastro.[47] In general, the macroscopic examination of signs of disarticulation and cut marks is more consistent with some notion of feasting (that is, killing animals and consuming them in large joints) than it is with other practices such as stewing. Fourth, there is an unusual concentration of dog bones, some of individuals which had clearly been cared for into old age.

Yet the most striking feature about our deposit was the number of remains of wild (and/or feral) species recovered. Some caprine bones were unusually large compared to the relatively small Cretan domestic caprines. In particular, nine specimens from trenches A-200 and A-300[48] were identified as either possible or probable *agrimi*, the Cretan wild goat (*Capra aegragus cretica*). Identifying postcranial elements of *agrimi* is not easy, as they are morphologically very similar to domestic goats and none could be identified with complete confidence.[49] Strictly speaking the *agrimi* is not a wild but a feral animal: DNA analysis indicates that they represent descendants of a primitive form of domestic goat that was brought to the island in early Neolithic times and which subsequently escaped human control.[50] Thus, *agrimia* are not a different species from the domestic goat. They do, however, tend to be much larger. The robusticity and size of the elements and, where available, metric data indicate that the presence of *agrimi* at Praisos is likely. Elsewhere in Crete, animal bone specialists have confidently identified *agrimi* at Archaic/Hellenistic Prinias Patela[51] and at Hellenistic Eleutherna,[52] high-altitude poleis that border the happy hunting grounds of Mt. Ida.

Most surprising was the large number of lagomorpha (that is, hares and rabbits) which represent 8.4% of the specimens in the assemblage. Some specimens were too fragmentary to be identified to species level. However, all of those that *could* be identified with certainty were hare, presumed to be the subspecies native to Crete (*Lepus europaeus creticus*)[53] and not rabbit. These

47 Klippel and Snyder 1991, 182–183.

48 Specifically from zembils 202.12, 207.12, 204.2, 204.7, 204.8, 204.10, 312.5, and 317.1.

49 Moody 2012; Wilkens 1996.

50 Bar-Gal et al. 2002; Horwitz and Bar-Gal 2006.

51 Wilkens 2003, 87 table 8.3.

52 Nobis 2003, table 9.4.

53 This species is a variety of brown hare. Cretan hares, though of the same species, seem

remains accounted for a minimum of eight individuals, the second highest of all taxonomic categories. Finds of hare were concentrated in three zembils (306.9, 306.10, and 306.16) in one context in the upper (redeposited) fill of trench A-300. These finds are thus spatially and contextually distinct.

Lagomorpha of various kinds are not unknown from a number of domestic deposits in Early Iron Age to Hellenistic Crete.[54] Small quantities of such bones ("rabbit or hare") occur at the LMIIIC settlement of Kavousi Vronda[55] and at the later EIA site of Kavousi Kastro.[56] Hare has also turned up in the so-called Andreion complex of Archaic Azoria.[57] Bones unambiguously described as hare have been found at Knossos in the Classical-Hellenistic shrine of Glaukos,[58] at Protogeometric to early Roman Kommos,[59] and at Hellenistic Eleutherna.[60] Of these deposits, the one that provides the closest comparandum, both in date and in the nature of the deposit, is the shrine of Glaukos at Knossos. Comparative data from these two sites (incorporating NISP counts, MNI counts, and percentages) are set out in table 5.4.

The spatial and contextual distinction of Praisos's deposits containing bones of hare suggests some form of specialized, perhaps ritualized consumption—something distinct from everyday sustenance. While sample sizes are small, the pattern is encouraging. Because deposits that might contain *agrimi* are less distinct and without positive identification, interpretation of the presence of this species must remain tentative (although it is discussed in the context of hunted wild fauna below). Both these (*agrimi* and hare) are wild species,[61] which one

to be smaller than those of mainland populations. Nobis (2003, 98) notes of the finds of hare from Eleutherna: 'Το μεγεθος των οστών δηλώνει οτι ο κρητικός λαγός ηταν πιο μικρος από αυτόν της ηπειρωτικής Ευρωπής'.

54 Moody 2012, 246–247.

55 Day et al. 2009, 58, 141; Day and Glowacki 2012, 7, 49, 80.

56 Klippel and Snyder 1991, 180.

57 Snyder and Haggis (pers. comm.) now confirm that these bones were of hare (Haggis et al. 2004, 384; Moody 2012, 247 n. 142). It seems then that the Azoria deposit is quite like ours. There are also reports (Zographaki and Farnoux 2010, 597–598; http://www.chronique.efa.gr/index.php/actu/allactu/76/) of finds of hare from a re-examination of the structures and deposits at Dreros.

58 Jones 1978. There are also some hare bones from the Roman ovens in the sanctuary of Demeter (Jarman 1973, 178 table 1) but in small quantities only. There is one hare bone from the upper, Roman deposits of the Unexplored Mansion (see Bedwin 1992, 491).

59 Reese et al. 2000, 491–492 table 6.12.

60 Nobis 2003, 98.

61 Technically, of course, *agrimi* are feral rather than wild (see Moody 2012, 243–247). But Iron Age to Hellenistic Cretans would not, we think, have been aware that these were the

TABLE 5.4 *Quantification data for mammalian and avian taxa from Praisos and Knossos, shrine of Glaukos (Jones 1978) compared. *Does not include sheep skeleton.*

Taxon	NISP Praisos	% Praisos	MNI Praisos	NISP Knossos Glaukos	% Knossos Glaukos	MNI Knossos Glaukos
Caprine (sheep/goat) *	409	72%	14	58	56%	2
Pig	67	12%	2	8	8%	1
Lagomorph (hare/rabbit)	48	8%	8	5	5%	1
Cattle	20	4%	1	2	2%	1
Equid (horse/donkey)	9	2%	2	1	1%	1
Dog	9	2%	1	3	3%	1
Bird	8	2%	2	17	17%	2
Other				9	n/a	2
TOTAL	570			103		

would not expect to form the mainstay of everyday diet. To assess their significance we have to look at literary, material, and iconographic evidence in the wider Greek world.

Hares, Hounds, and *Agrimi*? Consuming the Wild

Hare and *agrimi* are both wild animals. That is, while *agrimi* might be technically feral, neither species is domesticated and both live in the wilder, upland parts of the Cretan landscape. Both were hunted in ancient times, hares almost everywhere in the Greek world, *agrimi* only on Crete. For the former we have abundant literary and iconographic evidence that tells us quite a lot about Greek notions of masculinity (and the links between hunting and warfare). In the case of the *agrimi* we have abundant iconography but no texts to speak of.[62]

Hares figure quite prominently in ancient Greek literature on hunting.[63] Xenophon (*Cyn* 4.4–11; 8.1–8) mentions several ways of hunting hares, varying

descendants of domestic goat that had 'gone wild' between the Neolithic and the Bronze Age. The point is that both hare and *agrimi* would have to be hunted.

62 Eiring 2004.

63 See Lane Fox 1996; Anderson 1985, 44–48.

by season and terrain: he is particularly concerned with making the best use of his hounds' sense of smell. Though nets may sometimes be used, the hunting of hares is always portrayed as hunting with dogs, with Cretan hounds being especially good at this task.[64] On the Chigi vase the lowest register shows hares with prominent ears being hunted with dogs, the scene above depicts humans hunting lions, and the scene above that includes two sets of (antagonistic) hoplites advancing toward each other.[65] In Hurwit's view this arrangement suggests that the hunting of hares is linked to a hierarchy of age-graded, performative masculinity. Hunting, warfare, masculinity, and 'hoplite' citizenship are mutually entwined.

Hares also had *erotic* overtones. A rather strange, late passage in Philostratus the Elder (*Imagines* 1.6.5) suggests that hares are the only animal that can be sacrificed to Aphrodite (and to no other deity). Hares then are also given as love gifts. On a well-known neck-amphora from Vulci painted by the Amasis painter, two maenads give a hare as an offering to their divine master, Dionysos.[66] The posture of the maenad on the left is similar, if not identical to that found on another amphora by the Amasis painter, where a younger man (an *eromenos* rather than an *erastes*) gives a hare he has (presumably) hunted as an offering to his older male lover.[67]

Both the dogs that hunted them and the hare's erotic overtones are to be found in Crete. In one Hellenistic drinking cup from Knossos, a hare is paired with a dog.[68] In the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Kato Symi, at least one Archaic bronze plaque (fig. 5.3) shows a young man holding a live hare by the throat, presumably to give to his partner/lover.[69] The youth in this plaque is also carrying an animal with large horns, almost certainly an *agrimi*. Indeed the *agrimi* seems to be the most popular love gift both on these plaques (A3, A6, A12, A14, A17, A19, A36, A40, A50, A56, and B5), and on others found in Archaic sanctuaries throughout Crete (e.g., from the Psychro Cave).[70] Its popularity eas-

64 See http://www.kritikosichnilatis.gr/en/abperiechomena.html, a website devoted to discussing the modern Cretan hound (used for hunting hares) with the ancient breeds.

65 Hurwit 2002; cf. Anderson 1985, 32–35 and figs. 14–15.

66 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles 222; *ABV*, 152 no. 25.

67 Louvre F.26; *ABV*, 150 no. 5.

68 Coldstream 1999, 338 no. S13. Coldstream actually says "deer and lion," but Peter Callaghan, who has re-examined and redrawn this cup, affirms that they are actually a dog and hare—the hare having the prominent ears that are its iconographic giveaway.

69 Lebessi 1985, 26 no. A10, plates 6 and 48.

70 Boardman 1961, 49 no. 218.

FIGURE 5.3
Bronze plaque (A10) *from Kato Symi, showing youth holding both a hare and an agrimi*
AFTER LEBESSI 1985, PLATE 6. IMAGE COURTESY ANGELIKI LEBESSI

ily eclipses that of the ram (A35), the hare (A10), and the bull (B6). On another plaque from Crete two male lovers, one older with a bow, one younger with the *agrimi*, exchange gifts.[71]

The excavator of Kato Symi, Angeliki Lebessi, has interpreted these scenes as part of an initiation ritual involving ritualized homosexuality, where two young men formally bond through mutual exchange of love gifts.[72] Lebessi refers to an elaborate passage in Strabo (10.4.20–21), who quotes Ephoros (*FrGrHist* 10.149). Young men (too young to marry: ἔτι νεωτέρους) are initially taken to one of their city's *andreia* where they eat together in relative simplicity. They are then organized into troops (or herds: ἀγέλαι) and engage in both hunting and military training (the implication being here that each band or troop corresponds to an *andreion* or *syssition*). Strabo/Ephoros then goes on to describe the peculiar Cretan custom of ritualized, homosexual male bonding. A boy (or young man) is not seduced but abducted by an older man, who takes the boy to his *andreion*. There follows a two-month period of hunting and feasting (ἑστιαθέντες δὲ καὶ συνθηρεύσαντες δίμηνον) in the wilds. Then they return to the city, where the

71 Γ5, Louvre Br 93; Lebessi 1985, 52–53, plate 5.

72 Lebessi 1985, 188–198.

older man gives the younger gifts of a military outfit (στολὴν πολεμικὴν), a cup, and an ox, which is then sacrificed to Zeus.

Of course this passage is fraught with problems. It presents an idealized and ahistorical 'Cretan' institution which cannot be assigned to any particular time or place. The initiation rite described cannot be precisely fitted into the evidence we have from Kato Symi, where it is the *agrimi* that dominates the iconography. And Kato Symi cannot be directly related to the institutions of any particular polis.[73] But few doubt that there was, in many parts of Crete from Archaic until Hellenistic times, some kind of initiation rite that helped to create a new generation of citizens within a number of Cretan poleis. This rite involved bonding between older and younger men, ritualized hunting, the exchange of love gifts, and the use of the *andreion* to create military 'troops' (an age-grade system). It also involved communal dining, and the bringing of the wild animal back to the polis for sacrifice and feasting.

The images from Kato Symi do however relate quite closely to our Praisos deposit. Hares were hunted, then may have been exchanged as love gifts, and finally were consumed in feasts. Our caprines may well comprise 'wild' *agrimi*, since some specimens were much larger than we would expect from 'domestic' goat. Our point here is that the assemblage from close to the *andreion* at Praisos is consistent with a picture of young men bringing wild animals into a ritualized male sphere linked to the initiation of young male citizen/warriors. Maleness and wildness are linked and used to create social bonds that cut across kinship and create, in their place, loyalties to the citizen state. The 'wild' was consumed in service of the Cretan polis. Moreover, just as the 'wild' might have been brought in to the polis to be consumed, so the rituals of the *andreion* may have taken place 'in the wild,' at least within the territory of Praisos. One of the most puzzling finds from our survey was a deposit of Archaic to Classical drinking cups found on the highest and most exposed summit within our survey area, the hill of Prophitis Ilias (site 14).[74] Arguments have been put forward elsewhere to the effect that this must represent a peculiar form of 'rough dining,' highly appropriate for the *andreion*.[75]

Two other oddities about our deposit require comment. One is the dog bones. Dogs are the other side of hunting: both hare and *agrimia* were hunted

73 The nearest polis is Biannos (Perlman 2004, 1154 no. 951), a small, poorly documented and probably not very significant political community on the southern slopes of Mt. Dikte. There are reasons for thinking that the sanctuary might have served not only Biannos alone, but a number of Cretan poleis.

74 Whitley, Prent, and Thorne 1999, 249–251; cf. Erickson 2010a, 198–220.

75 Whitley 2014.

with dogs.[76] Finds from Geometric Kavousi Kastro however suggest that dogs were nothing special: they were eaten as food, along with other animals.[77] But our deposit is not like that from the Kastro—maximizing the calorific value of the animals consumed does not seem to have been the point. The mandible of one dog was of an old individual who had lost several teeth and would have needed considerable care to survive. This example is certainly not consistent with exploitation of canids for meat and is much more suggestive of companionship.

The other oddity is the ram. The ram and the bull are the only 'domestic' animals to appear on the bronze plaques from Kato Symi.[78] Neither rams nor bulls are wild, but they are decidedly male, as the iconography of the Symi plaques emphasizes. A bias toward male animals was noted earlier in the case of pigs (nine of the eleven teeth were of boars rather than sows). Moreover, Rams appear in the iconography of Praisos. The terracotta plaque A-205.7.6 shows a warrior armed with a shield in the form of a ram's head, datable to around 400.[79] This image has a respectable pedigree in Praisos going back to Geometric times, but is not paralleled elsewhere.[80]

Conclusions: Feasting in the Cretan Polis

Our deposit from Praisos is not just any set of domestic debris; it shows evidence of structured practices of selection that are characteristic of feasting.[81] The concentration of cups, the proximity to a rather fine Classical building (almost without parallel in Classical Crete), the presence of almost whole skeletons of sheep, and the unusual percentages of 'wild' animals (particularly hare and perhaps also *agrimi*) in the upper deposit are all facts that support an interpretation that these deposits represent the remains of ritualized feasting associated with the institution of the *andreion*. One neglected aspect in consideration of the *andreion* was its role in bringing the wild into the polis, and how the wild helped to create bonds between young male peers. The wild was consumed in the service of citizenship, in the constant re-creation of the constituent units of the 'citizen state.' Just as the wild was brought into the polis so the polis was brought in to the wild through the initiation of its future citizens.

76 Cf. Eiring 2004.

77 Snyder and Klippel 2003.

78 Lebessi 1985, 36 nos. A35 and 50, B6 respectively.

79 Whitley 2011, 18–19 fig. 14.

80 See Halbherr 1901, pl. XII no. 3; Whitley 2014, 151–152 figs. 7.7, 7.8 and 7.9.

81 Madgwick and Mulville 2015.

This interpretation goes beyond what would be available to us if we were to rely solely on Strabo, Ephoros, and other ancient literary sources on the *andreion*. None of these sources mention hares, *agrimia*, or rams. The significance of these animals for male, citizen commensality has been arrived at through a combination of zooarchaeology, iconography, and contextual analysis—that is, largely through archaeology. If we really want to expand our concrete knowledge of the institutions of the ancient world this combined archaeological approach remains the only way forward.

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CHAPTER 6

Individual and Collective in the Funding of Sacrifices in Classical Athens: The Sacrificial Calendar of the Marathonian Tetrapolis*

Stephen Lambert

Introduction

The fourth-century sacrificial calendar of the Marathonian Tetrapolis is one of the most vivid documents of local Attic religion in the Classical period. In 2000, I presented a new textual edition, based on autopsy,[1] and as a by-product of our conference I published on Attic Inscriptions Online[2] translations of this inscription and the other Tetrapolis inscriptions[3] and a brief survey of the main contributions to their study that have appeared since 2000.[4]

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1 Lambert 2000, summarized, together with the minor amendments noted by Lambert 2002, 398, at *SEG* 50.168. See Appendix. The current corpus text, *IG* II^2 1358, will be updated when the relevant fascicule of *IG* II^3 is published.

2 www.atticinscriptions.com.

3 These inscriptions are, apart from the fourth-century calendar, a fifth-century list of offerings with perquisites, found in Chalkis, but perhaps to be attributed to the Tetrapolis, *IG* I^3 255 (on which see now also Doronzio 2012/2013, bringing the offering to the Nymphs and Acheloos at A19 of *IG* I^3 255 into connection with a mask of a river god found at Marathon, her plate 5); a fourth-century dedication by the Tetrapolis to Dionysos, *IG* II^2 2933; a decree of the Tetrapolis of ca. 190, *IG* II^2 1243; and an unpublished fourth-century decree honoring the archon of the Tetrapolis.

4 Lambert 2014.

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In this paper, after making some observations on the religion of the Tetrapolis as evidenced by the calendar, and emphasizing its embeddedness in the life and preoccupations of a local agricultural community, I shall explore the sociology of its arrangements for funding the sacrifices against the background of the Athenian system for sacrificial funding more broadly. I hope thereby to contribute to the volume's aim of elucidating the ways in which 'feasting'[5] was a locus of the articulation and negotiation of the status of individuals and of their relations to the collective.

The Content of the Calendar: A Sketch

The Tetrapolis, whose four component demes were Marathon, Trikorynthos, Oinoe, and Probalinthos, was thought in the Classical and Hellenistic periods to have been one of the original 'Twelve Cities of Attica,' predating the synoecism.[6] It seems to have been the most significant institutional locus of communal identity in the area, for while there are several inscriptions of the Tetrapolis, there is no extant inscription of any of the individual Tetrapolis demes.

Our calendar was inscribed on both sides in the same hand in around the second quarter of fourth century. Face A comprises two columns of text containing the sacrificial calendar. The better-preserved col. 2 contains the calen-

5 Picking up on definitions discussed at the conference, I use the term 'feasting' here to comprehend not only the banqueting that typically followed sacrifice, but the entirety of the activities of a 'festival,' including processions, sacrifices, and competitions.

6 *FGrHist* 328 Philoch. F 94 (= Strab. 9.1.20 p. 397 C), translated by Harding 2008, no. 8. See van den Eijnde's paper in this volume. Philochoros also devoted a monograph to the Tetrapolis, in which the religious institutions, cult sites, and associated mythical history of the region will have featured prominently. Three fragments survive: F73 mentions the "parasites" of Herakles (see below n. 11), F74 refers to Titenios, an ancient Titan said to have dwelt in the Marathon area (Prott 1896, 53, suggests he was cognate with Hyttenios, on whom see further below n. 14), and F75, much the longest, discusses divination rites connected with the *theoriai* to Delphi and Delos conducted at the Pythion at Oinoe and the Delion at Marathon. Marathon was said to be the location of Eurystheus's expedition against the Herakleidai. Eurystheus's body was buried at Gargettos, but Herakles's charioteer, Ioleus, cut off his head and buried it separately at Trikorynthos, "near the spring Makaria [Herakles's daughter, Kearns 1989, 182] below the cart track; and the place is called 'Eurystheus's Head'" (Strab. 8.6.19 p. 377 C; and see especially Eur. *Herakl.*, largely set in the Marathon region, with Wilkins 1993, xxvii and pp. 52–53 note on line 32). This tradition is reflected in the calendar in the offering to Ioleus (cf. Kearns 1989, 172–173; Eur. *Herakl. passim*), and, one imagines, might have featured in some way in the calendar for Trikorynthos, had more of that survived.

dar of the deme Marathon—almost complete, it seems—and the beginning of the calendar of Trikorynthos. Col. 1 is much less well preserved, and the institutional character of the sacrifices is unclear.[7] Face B is severely abraded, but enough is legible to see that it consists of names followed by monetary amounts, running not in columns, as more normally with inscribed name lists, but in continuous lines from the top of the stone to the bottom. Not only the hand is the same on both faces, but also the style of writing, which shows, in particular, the same marked tendency to cram the maximum amount of text into the space available on the stone. There is no reason to doubt that Face B records amounts which represent in some way (we shall consider below in exactly what way) the funding of the sacrifices on Face A.

Each calendar is divided into sacrificial sequences (*dramosynai*); those sequences preserved are either annual or biennial. The year is divided into quarters and months, with only occasional specification of a date in the month. The divinity or hero to which the offering is made is named; in comparison with other Attic calendars, heroes are notably prominent.[8] Then the offering is listed, mostly animal (that is, bovine, ovine, caprine, or porcine),[9] but including also vegetable products;[10] together with the price of the offering, and of any extras including priestly perquisites (*hierosyna*).

7 For my most recent views on col. 1 see Lambert 2014, 4–7.

8 Cf. Ekroth 2002, 150–169.

9 The most significant aspect of this group of animals in our context is that all were farmed, none wild, and therefore with a special quality of interdependency in their relations to humans. The number of bovines in this calendar is relatively high, reflecting the suitability of the Marathon plain for the raising of cattle. See most recently McInerney 2010, 234–235.

10 Vegetable products appear in two guises. First, as wine and barley, as extras for the sacrificial ritual, provided for the sacrifices in the Marathon calendar, in Metageitnion of the second biennial sequence to Eleusinia and Kore (A2, 43–46), and in Anthesterion of the same sequence to a similar pairing, Eleusinia and Chloe (A2, 48–50); the absence of such extras elsewhere does not necessarily imply their absence from the ritual, merely that they were not provided from Tetrapolis funds. Second, they appear perhaps also as offerings: (a) as the seasonal or annual offerings (*horaia*) to Hyttenios, annually at Marathon in Skirophorion before the Skira (A2, 30–31), which, if they are a distinct offering, and not merely a summary description of the rite (cf. Prott 1896, 53), are unpriced and might have been vegetable; (b) as the offering to Zeus Hyp[atos], at Marathon annually in Gamelion, A2, 13–15, which may have been vegetable, cf. Lambert 2000, 60; (c) as the several tables, used for rites of *theoxenia*, and which at only 1 drachma each, might have included vegetable offerings (cf. e.g., Ar. *Plut.*, 676–681; Jameson 1994, 40). Whether the mysterious σπυδια (= σπυ⟨ρί⟩δια, “baskets”?) for which 40 drachmas was provided at Marathon annually to Poseidon (?) as adjuncts to a ceremony (*teletē*) (A2, 10) were or included vegetables is obscure. (For the interpretation of τελετῆι as meaning “at the ceremony” rather than

The Religion of the Calendar: Some Reflections

It is instructive to reflect on the contrast between the Marathon of this calendar and the idea of Marathon and all that it has connoted for Athenian and Western identity more broadly, for the battle has no perceptible impact on what survives of the calendar.[11] Local identity, to judge from this document, was rooted not in Marathon alone, but in the Tetrapolis; and not in a battle imagined to be globally significant, but in a sacrificial system that manifests a highly local, indeed highly localized, religious imagination. The 'Twelve Cities of Attica' are of course a product of an imagined past, but it was a past imagined through a religious prism. Indeed, our calendar documents a religion which expresses an identity much more deeply rooted than the battle: first, although we cannot demonstrate conclusively the antiquity of any of the individual cults (the major Tetrapolis cult of Athena Hellotis perhaps has the strongest claim), one gains a clear impression that we have here a sacrificial system that is much older than the battle;[12] and second, taken as a whole, the calendar exudes a

"for Teletē," i.e., an offering to the divine personification of the ceremony, see Pirenne-Delforge 2016, who also discusses alternative possible identifications of the ceremony in question.) The value of water, essential for all life, is recognized by what is apparently a 6 drachma levy for use of a well (cf. n. 14 below). Note also in Hekatombaion the laurel bearers, *daphnephoroi*, A2, 38, from which (unless they are unconnected with the preceding offerings, 35–37) we may perhaps infer that the "Greater" festival of Athena Hellotis (but not apparently the "Lesser," A2, 41–42) featured a procession of such persons, otherwise unfamiliar in Attica, but known in Thebes (cf. Parker 2005, 212; their participation alongside offerings to Kourotrophos adds weight to the speculation of Humphreys 2004, 176, that, like the Attic *oschophoroi*, they may have been adolescent. Prott 1896, 53, thinks of a purificatory ritual).

11 The only link with the battle is indirect: the Herakleion mentioned at A1, 19, was the place where the Athenians camped before the battle, Hdt. 6.108.1, cf. 116.1 (on its location and related inscriptions see most recently the useful discussion of Doronzio 2012/2013). Of the Marathonian Herakleia (on which see Parker 2005, 473), a major festival attracting international competitors (Pind. *Ol.* 9.89 with schol., 13.110, *Pyth.* 8.79; cf. *IG* I^3 2/3 and 1015 bis), there is also no trace, but even allowing for the fact that the calendar is fragmentary, that is not surprising, as the festival was patently a 'polis cult' (probably the quadrennial Herakleia mentioned by *Ath. Pol.* 54.7), and one would therefore expect it to be provided for in the Athenian state calendar (Lambert 2002), not the Tetrapolis one (on the definition of 'polis cult' see Lambert 2010, 144–147). Parker 1996, 96–97, plausibly speculates that the festival may have been promoted in commemoration of the battle, but may have risen to prominence already during the 'athletic boom' of the sixth century.

12 The following early cult sites in the Tetrapolis area are identified by van den Eijnde 2010: (1) p. 80, a possible "peak sanctuary" on an outcrop on the eastern slope of Mt Agrieliki,

strong and vivid sense of a religion which binds the remote past to the present, in particular via the cult of local heroes, both named and anonymous, and their (invariably anonymous) heroine companions, linked (in one case demonstrably,[13] in others putatively) to ancient tombs. Past and present inhabitants are also bound by an acute sense of place to specific numinous locations;[14] and

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west of Marathon, in use ca. 725–650, but with material dating through the Hellenistic and Roman periods; (2) p. 244, a late Helladic fortress, remains of which are still visible, at Plasi-Tsepi, ca. 1200 m. east of the 'Soros' (burial tumulus of Athenians at Marathon), with evidence of use from Neolithic period to Late Helladic, and then again from Geometric onwards, and construction of a peribolos (of a sanctuary?), ca. 500; (3) p. 292, a cist tomb inside a house of ca. 10th century, also at Plasi-Tsepi, containing vases, ornaments, and weapons; (4) pp. 280–283, sacrificial remains north of the chapel of St. Demetrios inside the Mycenean (LHII) tholos tomb at Vrana (Probalinthos?). This material provides some context for the belief of Athenians of the fourth century that there was a divine/heroic and human presence in the Tetrapolis very early. As van den Eijnde notes, the 'Homeric' reference to Athena coming first to Marathon and then to Athens (*Od.* 7.80), might suggest an early cult of Athena at Marathon. This reference might be associated with site 2 and/or with the prominent cult of Athena Hellotis and the Hellotion of our calendar (to the location of which the fifth-century *horos* of a temenos of Athena, *IG* I[3] 1082, apparently found in situ between Vrana and the Soros, might, but need not, be relevant). It was entirely fitting that Marathon should share a patron with Athens, but under a different aspect. Athena Hellotis is the only cult to appear in both columns of Face A, at the end of year in col. 1, and, in col. 2, like the Panathenaia, in the first month of the year, with a "Greater" (A2, 34–38) and a "Lesser" (A2, 39–42) festival celebrated in alternate years (cf. Prott 1896, 54). (3) and (4) might be sites of hero cults, which, as our calendar shows, were very numerous in the region.

13 Aristomachos, A2, 19. A hero doctor, "he was called a hero because of the size of his tomb," and was worshipped by the Dionysion at Marathon (Bekker, *Anecd.* 262, Schol. Dem. 19.249). Cf. Kearns 1989, 171, s.v. Heros Iatros (Marathon).

14 A remarkable number of the recipients of offerings are 'located' in one way or other: some divine being "beside the tower" (A1, 8), another "in the agora" (A1, 10), another probably "(by a?) river" (A1, 47), Zeus Horios (of boundaries, A1, 11), Apollo Apotropaios on the promontory Kynosoura (A1, 18 and 26), Athena Hellotis (i.e., of the Marathon marshes, A1, 55, and A2, 35 and 41; worshipped at the Hellotion, or "marsh sanctuary," next to which a hero was also located, A2, 25), Earth in the Fields (A2, 9) and at the oracle (A2, 13 and 18, taken by Prott, 52, to be the Delion at Marathon where the *mantis* divined in respect of the Delian *theoria*, cf. n. 6), [Demeter] Achaia, [Demeter] Eleusinia (see below), and Chloe by the property of Meidylos (A2, 49), and the hero in [D]rasileia (A2, 23–24). Several of the heroes, though not explicitly localized, are attested only in this text, and will have connoted the locations of their cult without need for further specification: Pheraios, A2, 15; Hyttenios, A2, 30 (eponym of "Hyttenia," the 'old name' for the Tetrapolis, St. Byz. s.v. *Hyttenia*); the Akamantes, A2, 32 (perhaps, as suggested by Kearns 1989, 143, connected with Akamas, son

the calendar expresses eloquently the concerns, aspirations, and anxieties[15] of an agricultural community. The most valuable single offering in the calendar, a pregnant cow for 150 drachmas, was probably made *Gei en gyais*, "to Earth in the fields" (A2, 9). One could scarcely ask for a clearer expression of the centrality in this religion of a preoccupation with fertility, and of a sense of the presence of the divine in the most mundane and ubiquitous life-sustaining element, the earth itself. It is a religion that binds the life of nature—animals and crops in their succeeding generations—with human life in its succeeding generations, and with what animates and sustains it, including the goodwill of local gods (for in this calendar even the Olympians are commonly locally grounded) and local heroes (and heroines).[16] The Eleusinian religion indeed is vividly prominent in the calendar: an Eleusinion is one of the Tetrapolis's major sanctuaries (A1, 17).[17] Sacrifices are rarely linked to a specific date, but at A2, 5 one is to take place "before the Mysteries," and at A2, 30 another is dated "before the Skira," both festivals of Demeter.[18] Demeter herself is never named (a silence tinged with awe, no doubt, but also with a sense of fluid identity), but appears no less than five times under the guise of epithets or descriptors (Achaia, A2, 27; Eleusinia, A2, 43 and 48; Chloe = "Verdant," A2, 49), or alternative manifestations (Daira, A2, 12).[19] The concern with generation and nurture

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of Theseus); Galios, A2, 51; and also Aristomachos, on whom see the previous note. (The fact that φρέατος, A2, 52, for which 6 drachmas are provided in A2, 52, is in the genitive, rather than the dative, suggests that we have to do with a levy for use of a sacred well, rather than an offering to the spirit of the well.) On numinous locations cf. also n. 6 above on "Eurystheus's head" at "Makaria" in Trikorynthos.

15 E.g., [Apollo] Apotropaios is a major Tetrapolis cult (A1, 26).

16 Succeeding generations: apparent above all in cult of the ancestor figures, the Tritopatreis, A2, 32 and 52, but other sacrifices have a patently comparable intention (e.g., to Hyttenios, Ur-archegete, it seems, of the Tetrapolis, paired with Kourotrophos, cf. n. 23 below).

17 Cf. Lambert 2010, 152 n. 57; 2000, 52; Doronzio 2012/2013, 94. Kukunari, in the hills west of the Marathon plain (in the direction of Eleusis), the findspot of our inscription, and which, as is obvious to any visitor from the quantity of ancient remains, sherds, etc. in the fields, as well as other documented finds (including remains of other stelai), is an ancient site (Lambert 2000, 44 n. 6), and is a candidate for identification as the location of the Tetrapolis Eleusinion, mentioned in A1, 17.

18 The Mysteries are specifically Eleusinian, the Skira is less firmly located there. The rites in question were not perhaps thematically linked with those festivals, but had to be got out of the way before what were clearly major events in the Tetrapolis's religious calendar. Cf. Lambert 2014, 3.

19 Achaia: the Demeter cultivated famously by the "immigrant" *genos* Gephyraioi (Hdt. 5.57–61), in rites which, unusually for an Attic *genos*, excluded other Athenians (see

of vigorous young is apparent in its Eleusinian context, with offerings to Demeter's daughter, "the Girl" (Kore = Persephone), that divine expression of anxiety about the well-being of human offspring and of the fruits of the earth,[20] and more broadly, with offerings to Kore's male counterpart (in a sense) "the Youth" (Neanias),[21] "Zeus Promoter of Vigor" (Anthaleus),[22] and above all to "Nurturer of the Young" (Kourotrophos), that divine entity who usually receives offerings in conjunction with other deities and serves to orient the influence of the sacrificial ensemble, emphasizing the nurturing aspect of the other deities in the group.[23]

Though we can feel the strong pull of Eleusis on the opposite coast of Attica, however, the calendar also shows an Eleusinian Demeter sitting in a web of

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most recently Lambert forthcoming, 17–18). This cult was at Aphidna, a little outside the Tetrapolis area. Either, it seems, the Tetrapolis cultivated her as 'guest users' of the Gephyraioi sanctuary, or perhaps more likely at their own Eleusinion or another sanctuary in the Tetrapolis. Daira belongs in an Eleusinian context, though her precise identity was fluid: the priestess of Demeter was apparently prohibited from attending her rites (Eustath. *Il.* 6.648, see Kearns 1989, 153); Chloe, "Verdant" (an allusion to the pale green shoots of new growth), is normally, like Achaia, an epithet of Demeter (see Parker 2005, 195–196). Here, located "by Meidylos's property" (a designation that illustrates vividly the interpenetration of the mundane and the sacred in this calendar), she receives the same offering as the Eleusinian version of herself, Eleusinia, a pregnant sow, biennially, in the blooming month of expectant new life, Anthesterion (A2, 48–50).

20 A2, 43–46, Marathon, second biennial sequence, in Metageitnion, with [Demeter] Eleusinia.

21 A common name or title for a hero; in this case identifiable as the brother of Oinoe (Paus. 1.33.8). Cf. Kearns 1989, 188.

22 A2, 47, second biennial sequence, in Metageitnion. The time of year, deep summer, may suggest that the connotation of Anthaleus is general vigor (θαλλός, θάλλω) rather than specifically flowers (cf. Prott 1896, 54).

23 On Kourotrophos see Pirenne-Delforge 2004. She receives, in the Marathon calendar: (1) a sheep and a piglet at the "Greater" festival of Athena Hellotis, in Hekatombaion, A2, 34–36, and a piglet at the "Lesser," 41–42; (2) a sheep in Metageitnion, second sequence, perhaps in a group with Eleusinia and Kore, 43–46; (interestingly, the linked pair, Eleusinia and Chloe, at 48–50, are unaccompanied by Kourotrophos, but receive pregnant victims); (3) [a sheep] annually in Boedromion before the Mysteries, and perhaps sacrificed by the demarch of Marathon (no *hierosyna*), perhaps together with a hero (cf. Lambert 2014, 3), A2, 5–6; (4) a piglet annually in Gamelion, A2, 13–15, with Earth at the oracle (who, when sacrificed to in the fields, A2, 9, also receives a pregnant victim), Zeus Hypatos, and Ioleus; (5) a piglet annually in Skirophorion, A2, 30–31, with the Tetrapolis archegete Hyttenios (cf. above), here encouraged to nurture the Tetrapolis's young; and (6) an unknown victim at Trikorynthos annually, in Metageitnion, with Hera (Wife and Mother), A2, 54–56.

Demeter-type cult which has other manifestations (not only Eleusinia, but Achaia and Chloe and Daira); and the calendar also expresses concerns with human and natural fertility and nurture which are present in the system more broadly, without necessarily being connected directly to Demeter, concerns which shade into other preoccupations, with securing the beneficent action of ancestral and other numinous local presences, and with binding present into harmony with past. This calendar is one of our most eloquent documents of the 'meaning' of its religion to a local Attic community, binding human inhabitants into the scheme of nature, with the ritual of sacrifice—that fraught sacralization of the intersection between the spheres of humanity, nature, and the divine—at its center.

The Tetrapolis Calendar and the Sociology of Banqueting in a Sacrificial Context

It was normal Greek practice for dining to follow sacrifice,[24] but this genre of inscription generally lacks any information about the banquets, which are incidental to the prime concerns of the calendar, above all its financial concerns. Some sacrificial calendars do contain ritual provisions relating to the sacrificial meat, specifying, for example, where it was to be completely burnt ("holocaust"), or where the recipients of sacrificial portions were prohibited from taking the meat away.[25] These kinds of specifications supply some information as to the extent of, or at least limitations on or exceptions to, dining in a post-sacrificial context, though they tantalize for lack of specificity,[26] and the work of Ekroth and others has shown that we must be careful not to assume that the only meat feasted on post-sacrifice was sacrificial meat.[27] Our calendar, however, is completely lacking even in this type of information.

Sociologically, the post-sacrificial banquet was undoubtedly a significant element of a festival: it is a modern scholarly commonplace that it was a major

24 In all three literary passages discussed below, it is taken for granted that 'dining' is an adjunct of sacrifice. Ekroth 2002 argues persuasively that it normally followed sacrifices to heroes as well as to gods.

25 See for example the sacrificial calendar of Erchia, *SEG* 21.541, with https://www.atticinscriptions.com/inscription/SEG/21541/.

26 One imagines that "no taking away" is a prohibition on taking the meat home to eat later (or sell?), but other interpretations are possible.

27 Cf. Whitley and Madgwick in this volume; and below n. 34.

source of meat in the diet.[28] One can analyze the banquet from the point of view of the distribution of portions, the status of participants, and so on. It is not only because our calendar is peculiarly silent on post-sacrificial dining that I am not going to delve into these topics in this paper, it is also because dining is only one of several components of sacrifice, the others typically being a procession, the ritual surrounding sacrifice itself, and in some cases, though none, so far as we know, in our calendar, athletic or artistic competitions. If one is going to analyze the sociology of sacrifice it makes sense to consider all of the elements together, not banqueting in isolation. As I have already suggested, a calendar of this kind captures a sense of the social identity of a community and, in a certain sense, the meaning of its life, collectively and as individuals, even if it is silent on the details of the post-sacrificial banquet; the ramifications extended well beyond the elements of sacrifice themselves and into the agricultural economy more broadly, as we shall see shortly.

The Funding System—Broader Context

I want now to explore the sociopolitical weight and significance of an aspect of this system which *is* apparent on the surface of this calendar: the arrangements for the funding of sacrifices, and therefore implicitly of sacrificial banquets. I propose first to look at the wider picture of the system of sacrificial funding as a whole, and against this background then turn to consider the specific funding system implicit in the Tetrapolis calendar.

A passage of the Old Oligarch goes some way toward illustrating that the funding of sacrifices was a sociopolitically sensitive issue for contemporaries, showing that, from his albeit somewhat jaundiced perspective, feasting and obtaining a share of meat from sacrifice at public expense could, in Classical Athens, be seen as a significant benefit for the poor or for the People as a whole:

28 See recently the remarks of McInerney 2010, 183, and, particularly in relation to the archaeological remains of sacrifice, the important ongoing work of G. Ekroth, e.g., Ekroth 2007, Ekroth 2008, Ekroth 2011, and most recently in Ekroth and Wallenstein 2013. Rosivach 1994, 78–93, stresses the importance of the sale and purchase of animals for sacrifice to the Attic rural economy, albeit that they were not raised primarily for their meat, but for other purposes (milk, wool, etc.). For the implications of meat division for social ranking among the participants, see Paul this volume, and for access to banquets offered by the polis to honor citizens and noncitizens see Blok and Van 't Wout this volume.

> θυσίας δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ ἑορτὰς καὶ τεμένη γνοὺς ὁ δῆμος ὅτι οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἐστιν ἑκάστῳ τῶν πενήτων θύειν καὶ εὐωχεῖσθαι καὶ ἵστασθαι ἱερὰ καὶ πόλιν οἰκεῖν καλὴν καὶ μεγάλην, ἐξηῦρεν ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἔσται ταῦτα. θύουσιν οὖν δημοσίᾳ μὲν ἡ πόλις ἱερεῖα πολλά· ἔστι δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ εὐωχούμενος καὶ διαλαγχάνων τὰ ἱερεῖα.
>
> [XEN.] *Ath. Pol.* 2.9
>
> As for sacrifices (*thysias*) and *hiera* and festivals (*heortas*) and *temenē*, the People (*dēmos*), knowing that it is not possible for every poor man to sacrifice and feast (*euōcheisthai*) and to establish *hiera* and to dwell in a great and beautiful city, has discovered how these things can be realized: for, as the city, they sacrifice many victims (*hiereia*) at public expense (*dēmosiai*); but it is the People (*dēmos*) that feasts (*euōchoumenos*) and obtains a share of the victims (*hiereia*).

There is one aspect of this passage, easily overlooked, that I should like to point up. It would suit the Old Oligarch's point of view to emphasize that the democracy obliges the few to undertake expenditure from which the many benefit; but, in this case, it is not actually what he says. The beneficiaries are the poor, or the People as a whole—the *demos* as mass opposed to elite—but the provider is not specifically wealthy individuals, but the collective, the city.

There is a corollary to this, however, in a passage of the real Xenophon, from which the extent of the social pressure on the wealthy individual is apparent:

> (Socrates speaking to wealthy Kritoboulos). εἰς δὲ τὸ σὸν σχῆμα ὃ σὺ περιβέβλησαι καὶ τὴν σὴν δόξαν, οὐδ' εἰ τρὶς ὅσα νῦν κέκτησαι προσγένοιτό σοι, οὐδ' ὣς ἂν ἱκανά μοι δοκεῖ εἶναί σοι. (5) πῶς δὴ τοῦτ'; ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος. ἀπεφήνατο ὁ Σωκράτης· ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ὁρῶ σοι ἀνάγκην οὖσαν θύειν πολλά τε καὶ μεγάλα, ἢ οὔτε θεοὺς οὔτε ἀνθρώπους οἶμαί σε ἂν ἀνασχέσθαι· ἔπειτα ξένους προσήκει σοι πολλοὺς δέχεσθαι, καὶ τούτους μεγαλοπρεπῶς· ἔπειτα δὲ πολίτας δειπνίζειν καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν, ἢ ἔρημον συμμάχων εἶναι.
>
> XEN. *Oik.* 2.4–5
>
> "… I don't think you would have enough to keep up the style you are living in and to support your reputation, even if your fortune were three times what it is."
>
> "How is that?," said Kritoboulos.
>
> "Because, in the first place," explained Socrates, "I see that you are obliged to offer many large sacrifices; or else, I think, you would not be tolerated by either gods or men. Secondly, it is your duty to entertain many

> strangers, on a generous scale too. Thirdly, you have to give dinners and do good things for the citizens, or your allies will desert you."

The wealthy citizen is indeed, it seems, under moral pressure to expend his wealth on behalf of his fellow citizens, and funding sacrifices is an important aspect of this obligation.

The explanation for the differing emphases of these two passages lies, I think, mainly in the distinction between public sacrifice (Old Oligarch) and private (Xenophon). In public sacrifice the provision is collective, in private sacrifice there is a much clearer, more direct and personal relationship between provider and beneficiary.

Public sacrifice, which is our concern in this paper, was organized broadly at two levels: at the level of the city itself and at the level of local groups, demes, phratries, and associations such as the Tetrapolis. The main features of the public system as it operated in the Classical period are well understood, and have been discussed most recently by Papazarkadas 2011: sacrifices were funded from the income from capital held by a god, or by the community on behalf of a god. Normally the capital was held in the form of land and the income took the form of rents; sometimes, particularly with the local groups, the capital was loaned out, with the interest on the loans funding the sacrifices.[29] This system was not uniform—some specific public sacrifices were funded by other mechanisms, by ad hoc taxes, for example—but these were exceptions.

Several features of the system are notable in our context. First, there was, as the Old Oligarch implies, generally no direct funding of public sacrifices in Classical Athens by individuals. One could envisage liturgies involving funding of sacrifices; and indeed there were liturgies, such as the *choregia*, which funded other aspects of the public religious system, but the system for funding the sacrifices themselves, and implicitly therefore the feasting which followed them, did not generally work like that.[30] The system was, in an important sense, essentially collective and impersonal.

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29 Funding by interest on loans, apparently at standard amounts of 200 or 300 drachmas, in *IG* I^3 248, accounts of Nemesis at Rhamnous; from both land rentals and interest on loans, in *IG* I^3 258, deme Plotheia, discussed most recently by Blok 2010, 72–75, Papazarkadas 2011, *passim*.

30 Cf. Rosivach 1994, 134: "The evidence for liturgies in support of public sacrifices is very limited." The exceptions, as e.g., Isae. 3.80 (wealthy man expected to feast demeswomen at Thesmophoria) and Dem. 21.156 (feasting fellow tribesmen) mostly shade into the realm of private sacrifice.

Within this collective system, however, individual human patrons do or can enter the picture at two points: as donors of land, or of monetary capital; and as renters of the land or borrowers of the capital.

We cannot for the most part see in the case of Athens what the origin was of the city's sacred landholdings; but the general impression one obtains about such land is that it was set aside by the city collectively for the benefit of the gods, typically on the foundation of a city or at the point when new territory was acquired. A good example is the setting aside of land in Oropos to fund sacrifices when control of the territory was awarded to Athens probably by Alexander in 335.[31] This type of public landholding, however, could also be enhanced by individual donation, and there are three well-known Athenian cases in the Classical period.

Nikias, according to Plutarch's *Life*, donated a 10,000-drachma estate to Delian Apollo to fund sacrificial banquets, recording his donation on a stele on Delos.[32] Plutarch's account does not instill confidence in every detail. Though it is not implausible that Nikias's donation might have been commemorated by a stele (compare the real-life case of Demon, below), we cannot be certain this one was authentic.[33] The plausibility of Nikias's gesture gains confirmation, however, from a comparable case: Xenophon's deployment of his portion of booty to purchase an estate at Skillous (near Olympia) sacred to Ephesian Artemis, with a tithe of the produce of the land offered to the goddess in a festival.[34] Here we clearly have to do with 'big men,' making grand donations, in part at least to win the favor of local populations. Whatever we may think about

31 Hyp. *Eux.* 16 with Papazarkadas 2011, 45.

32 χωρίον μυρίων δραχμῶν πριάμενος καθιέρωσεν, οὗ τὰς προσόδους ἔδει Δηλίους καταθύοντας ἑστιᾶσθαι, πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ Νικίᾳ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν αἰτουμένους· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τῇ στήλῃ ἐνέγραψεν, ἣν ὥσπερ φύλακα τῆς δωρεᾶς ἐν Δήλῳ κατέλιπεν. "Having bought an estate for 10,000 drachmas he consecrated it, and from the revenues from it the Delians were obliged to sacrifice and banquet, asking many benefits for Nikias from the gods. And he wrote this on a stele, which he left as a guardian of his donation in Delos." Plut. *Nik.* 3.6.

33 Plutarch claims to have conducted research on Nikias among "old dedications and decrees" (Plut. *Nik.* 1.5), but, as is well known, inauthentic inscriptions also entered the historical record in the fourth century and later. The best treatment of this phenomenon is Davies 1996.

34 Xen. *Anab.* 5.3.4–11. As well as pleasing the gods, it is clear from Xenophon's own words that this action was intended also to curry favor with the human population: (9) καὶ πάντες οἱ πολῖται καὶ οἱ πρόσχωροι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες μετεῖχον τῆς ἑορτῆς. παρεῖχε δὲ ἡ θεὸς τοῖς σκηνοῦσιν ἄλφιτα, ἄρτους, οἶνον, τραγήματα, καὶ τῶν θυομένων ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς νομῆς λάχος, καὶ τῶν θηρευομένων δέ. "… and all the citizens and neighboring men and women shared in the festival, and the goddess provided for the banqueters barley meal, loaves of bread, wine,

the most suspicious-looking aspect of Plutarch's account, i.e., his remark about Nikias's requiring the Delians to pray for benefits for himself, which fits uneasily into the religious context of the late-fifth century, and rather too nicely the literary trope about ultimately fruitless attempts by wealthy individuals to appease the gods—one thinks immediately of Croesus in Herodotos—the benefaction does nicely illustrate the way 'sacred' patronage might be deployed by the wealthy to win the "toleration of gods and men." The truth of that observation, attributed by Xenophon to Socrates, gains confirmation from Xenophon's real-world donation in the *Anabasis*.

One suspects that, in an Athenian context, already by the end of the fifth century this type of grand gesture might be regarded as somewhat old-fashionedly 'aristocratic'; and the third well-known case of capital donation not only dates a little later, it differs in subtle, but interesting ways from either of the first two. Again, it is attested by an inscription, but one in which we can have greater confidence than Nikias's in that it is still extant. Dating to the fourth century, it announces that Demon of Paiania, following consultation of the oracle by the People, donated a house and garden to Asklepios in exchange for the priesthood.[35] This transaction has much more of the flavor of the fourth-century democracy: Demon was indeed a 'big man,' related to Demosthenes the orator, and, it seems, a politician of some standing in his own right;[36] but his

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dried fruits, and a portion of the sacrificial victims from the sacred herd, and of those captured in the hunt." Cf. Papazarkadas 2011, 77.

35 [ὁ] θεὸς ἔχρησεν τῶι δήμωι τῶι Ἀθην[αίων ἀναθεῖναι] | [τ]ὴν οἰκίαν τὴν Δήμωνος καὶ τὸν κῆ[πον τὸν προσόντα] | τῶι Ἀσκληπιῶι καὶ αὐτὸν Δήμωνα [ἱερέα εἶναι αὐτοῦ]. *vac.* ἱερεὺς Δήμων Δημομέλους Παιαν[ιεὺς ἀνέθηκε] | (5) καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὸν κῆπον προσ[τάξαντος τοῦ θεοῦ] | καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων δόν[τος ἱερέα εἶναι] | τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ κατὰ τὴν μαν[τείαν]. "The god instructed the Athenian People [to dedicate] | the house of Demon and the garden [belonging with it] | to Asklepios, and that Demon himself [should be his priest]. *vac.* The priest Demon son of Demomeles of Paiania dedicated | (5) both the house and the garden, as stipulated [by the god], | the Athenian People also having granted [that he should be priest] | of Asklepios, in accordance with the oracle." *IG* II^2 4969. The priesthood was patently the major state cult of Asklepios, the priesthood of which normally rotated among the tribes (cf. Lambert 2010, 156–158). As with other productive lands owned by "Other Gods," the plot of land may have been physically distant from the sanctuary of Asklepios on the south slope of the acropolis.

36 See the cogent exposition of Davies 1971, pp. 116–118. If Davies's identifications are right this Demon's extradition, along with that of other leading politicians, had been demanded by Alexander in 335 (Plut. *Dem.* 23.4). Interesting in our context is that the comic poet Timokles (F4 K-A, Athen. 8.341F), in naming (the same?) Demon as a recipient of Harpalos's money, designated him as poor.

donation is on a smaller scale than Nikias's (a house and garden, not a 10,000 drachma estate), and, significantly, he gets something more substantive than "tolerance by gods and men" in exchange, namely, a turn at the annual, democratic, priesthood of Asklepios, which, I think the implication is, will to some extent compensate him, financially (i.e., from fees and perquisites[37]), and in terms of honor,[38] for his donation. The whole transaction exudes not so much a flavor of the grand gesture de haut en bas, but of democratic balance and mutual benefit of collective and individual.

An important feature of these capital donations is that the connection between donor and human beneficiary is somewhat oblique and indirect: oblique in that the recipient of the donation is conceived of as being the god or the community as whole, not individual fellow citizens; indirect in that the sacrifices are not directly funded by the capital donation, but by the rent paid by the lessees of the donated land, or in cases of donations of monetary capital, by borrowers. What can we say about them? Thanks to relatively abundant epigraphical evidence, we know rather more about lessees than about borrowers, so that is where my focus will be.

The first salient point is that they were normally, though not always, members of the sacrificing group, that is to say they were normally Athenian citizens in the case of polis rentals, members of the relevant deme or other polis subgroup in the case of sacrifices by local groups. This state of affairs is a natural function of the integral character of the sacrificial system. Rented sacred land

37 The priest of Asklepios's fellow 'democratic' priest (i.e., one appointed by lot from the whole citizen body rather than a *genos*), the priestess of Athena Nike, received an annual payment of 50 drachmas and perquisites in kind from public sacrifices (IG I^3 35 and 36 with Blok 2014), and priests in the state calendar of sacrifices received both monetary amounts and perquisites in kind at specific festivals (Lambert 2002). With a popular healing deity such as Asklepios there would doubtless also have been a significant potential income from private dedications and sacrifices. Compare the sentiments of the priest of the very popular Piraeus cult of Zeus the Savior (Soter) in Aristophanes' *Plutus* (of 388), perhaps also a 'democratic' priest (Lambert 2010, 171; 2012, 70), who regrets that the conditions of universal prosperity that prevail in the play have undermined his livelihood (1171 ff. with Parker 1996, 239). For portions for the priest of Amphiaraos from both private and public sacrifices at the Amphiaraion in Oropos, 387–377, see IG VII 235 = LSCG 69 = *I Orop.* 277, 32–36. Loomis 1998, 76–87 lists known monetary amounts paid to priests (the pattern was more or less frequent small amounts, often in lieu of sacrificial portions, rather than occasional large ones). In the Hellenistic period, the priest of Asklepios was also expected to contribute personally, e.g., to the cost of sacrifices (see Lambert 2012, 84–85).

38 Tenants of this priesthood have more extant honorific decrees in their favor than any other polis priest. See Lambert 2012 (earliest case: IG II^3 1, 359, of 328/7).

was primarily, though not exclusively, agriculturally productive land, and it was entirely appropriate that sacrifice, which is so intimately connected with agriculture, should be funded by agricultural production managed by members of the sacrificing group.[39] Though it is not generally clear, for example in texts of leases, that such land was systematically or exclusively used for production of animals for sacrifice by the relevant group, in practice that will also often have been the case.[40]

Now to the nub of the matter. From a modern (at least a modern British) perspective we should expect that the tenants of sacred land would be of lower status than independent landowners, but in a Classical Athenian context it did not work like that. The evidence for the private rented sector in Attica is slight; such rentals were probably limited mainly to urban housing and to metics, who did not normally have the right to own land in Attica. Most citizens owned their own plot of agricultural land; few rented agricultural land from private landlords.[41] The renting of sacred land, though it involved a relatively small proportion of Attic land in absolute terms,[42] was probably more extensive than the private rental sector. The profile of the lessees of such land, the data for whom dates mainly from the fourth century democracy, shows two notable features.

First, men of the liturgical class are disproportionately well represented; and indeed we have deme decrees in which men are honored explicitly for renting deme lands. Renting sacred land could be construed as itself a kind of liturgy, deserving of honor.[43] This was not perhaps because it was necessar-

39 Papazarkadas 2011, 323–325 (polis rentals are nearly all to citizens), 152–155 (77% of deme lessees are deme members).

40 For sacrifices of animals in a "sacred herd," raised on land dedicated to a goddess (but not in Attica), see e.g., Xen. *Anab.* 5.3.9 (above n. 34). On the various mechanisms for acquiring animals for sacrifice, including, at polis level, via the activities of officials charged specifically with that duty, the "cow-buyers" (*boōnai*), see Rosivach 1994, 107–142 (though there are indications, as e.g., in the way prices are fixed in the sacrificial calendars, that it was less a matter of purchase on the 'open market' than he implies).

41 See for example Burford 1993, 177–181; Foxhall 2002, 216.

42 Rentals of sacred land accounted perhaps for ca. 1.5% of the annual income of the polis (Papazarkadas 2011, 94); and sacred property of the polis ca. 4% of total landed property of Attica, to which should be added an unquantifiable amount of sacred property of associations (Papazarkadas 2011, 95–98, but see also the cautionary remarks of Rousset 2013, 115).

43 Leasing sacred land as an act of *philotimia*: e.g., *SEG* 28.103 (lease by Eleusis of quarry of Herakles in Akris); *Agora* 19 L13, 32–40 (lease of theater in Piraeus); note also *SEG* 24.151 (lease by Teithras awarded to Xanthippos in recognition of his services to the deme). Cf. Papazarkadas 2011, 151.

ily a financial liability, but surely in part at least because from the rent paid by the tenant deme sacrifices would be funded, which plays to the attitude voiced by Xenophon, that a wealthy man should provide sacrifices for the members of his community, if they are to be tolerated by gods and men. Renting sacred land was a means of achieving this socially honorable objective, or of seeming to achieve it, while not perhaps being financially disadvantaged overall.

Second, although the liturgical class is disproportionately represented among the lessees (ca. 17 % are from liturgical families, compared with the 2 % or so one would expect from a random selection of the population), it is also possible to establish that a good proportion of them were not of the liturgical class (47 % not otherwise attested).[44] One way of understanding this is that we have here a system in which Athenians of relatively modest means were able to participate as providers of sacrifice, and obtain honor for doing so, alongside their wealthier neighbors. In short, the public sacrificial system facilitated 'democratization' of that characteristically Athenian kind, namely, the sharing of the *demos*, or a relatively wide proportion of it, in behaviors and qualities associated traditionally with the elite. This process is of a piece with the raising of the *demos* to the quality of a *genos*, which Josine Blok has attractively argued was an important consequence of Perikles's citizenship law,[45] and it is also of a piece with the increasing tendency in the fourth century for *philotimia*, previously the preserve of the elite, and as such contentious, to be promoted as a generally desirable quality across the social spectrum, and for honorific inscriptions to be awarded by the city not only to generals and major political figures but to annual office holders of the democracy, such as secretaries and priests.[46]

So: we have a system of public sacrifice which was in a sense fundamentally or structurally collectivist, in that public sacrifices were not funded by direct donations from the wealthy, but from the product of capital which was conceived of as property of the collective or the god. There was, however, scope for the exercise of *philotimia* through donation of capital, which was not perhaps very common, but did sometimes occur, and, much more frequently, by taking on the lease of sacred properties (or the borrowing of monetary capital). The

44 On the proportions given here, see cf. Papazarkadas Appendix 7, with the remarks of Lambert 2013, 508.

45 Blok 2009.

46 In honorific decrees of the Council and People the 340s saw two interconnected developments: *philotimia* begins to be praised and encouraged explicitly as a desirable virtue and inscriptions begin to be set up honoring ordinary Athenian office holders. Cf. Lambert 2011a; 2011b, 176–178.

very wealthy might have a disproportionate stake here, but, as the statistics for lessees of sacred lands indicate, the rather less wealthy might also participate in fairly large numbers.

It is instructive to contrast this quite markedly collectivist system as it operated in Classical Athens with the situation in the Hellenistic period, which I have explored elsewhere through the prism of the development of the honorific decree from the fourth century through to the Augustan period.[47] I showed there that in the later period there developed a much greater emphasis on the funding of public sacrifices by direct individual donation by wealthy individuals.

The Funding System—The Tetrapolis Calendar

Of the major Attic sacrificial calendars the Tetrapolis calendar is one of only two that give us a direct indication of how the sacrifices were to be funded,[48] the other being the calendar of the *genos* Salaminioi, which was explicitly funded from rentals of land owned by the *genos*. The calendar of Erchia is divided into five financially equivalent columns, suggesting that the financing of the sacrifices was divided in some way into five equal parts, but the precise underlying system, whether for example we are looking at five groups of contributors or five parcels of land, or of loans, is unclear.[49]

What system of funding is represented in the Tetrapolis calendar? As I noted in 2000, we can calculate the total cost of the sacrifices on Face A, when complete, at about 2500–3000 drachmas.[50] Face B is much more poorly preserved, but there is just enough to enable us to calculate that the likely total of the sum raised lies between 8000 and 40,000 drachmas.[51] The unequal relation between these two totals suggests that we are probably not dealing the with financing of sacrifices by direct contributions, which, to judge from parallels, would be

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47 Lambert 2012, 81–89.

48 See Lambert 2000, 66–67; Papazarkadas 2011, 146.

49 Salaminioi calendar: *RO* 37; Erchia calendar: *SEG* 21.541 (both translated on *Attic Inscriptions Online*); Papazarkadas 2011, 145–146. For the possibility of loans being parceled into equal blocks compare the accounts of Nemesis at Rhamnous (above n. 29).

50 Lambert 2000, 66: Marathon sacrifices in col. 2 = 1200 drachmas probably represent somewhat less than two thirds of the col. 2 sacrifices, so col. 2 total = ca. 2000 drachmas. Col. 1 sacrifices = 500–1000 drachmas. Total: 2500–3000 drachmas.

51 Lambert 2000, 67: 100 lines of contributors at 4 contributors a line contributing on average 20–100 drachmas.

an unexpected system in Classical Athens, and would in any case not provide enduring funding. The relative size of the figures suggests that it is more likely that we have to do with the raising of a capital sum, to be deployed to generate an income from which the sacrifices were to be funded. Further questions follow thick and fast.

The sacrifices are patently not new, and must have been funded in some way before. What had changed? We can only guess how the previous system operated: parallels suggest that there might have been some landholdings generating rental income; and one might suppose that there was a systematic reform designed to place the financing of the sacrifices (previously fragmented?) on an improved (common?) footing. Euboulos, who is archon of the Tetrapolis at A2, 39, may be identifiable with Euboulos of Probalinthos (one of the Tetrapolis demes), the well-known financial reformer at city level, and the calendar might represent a (perhaps early) reform initiative at local level, instigated by him.[52]

What exactly do the amounts on Face B represent and what were they used for? The simplest theory is that they are straightforward financial contributions to a capital fund, to be made productive by being loaned out or via the acquisition of land to be rented out,[53] but this theory is not the only possible one. We know of one deme, Kollytos, in which, under arrangements established in 327/6, sacrifices were apparently funded in part by loans to the deme by deme members.[54] As read and restored by Matthaiou, the deme's decree provides for sacrifices to be made by the [priests and the?] demarch, "to all the gods and heroes … after the archonship of Hegemon (327/6); and the entire revenues of the demesmen shall be, for good fortune, for the preservation of the Athenian People, 2000 drachmas;[55] and if any of the demesmen wish to lend on

52 Euboulos: Lambert 2000, 67–68. Systematizing fragmented arrangements: see also my reflections on the possible relation of the calendar, especially A, col. 1, to *IG* I^3 255, Lambert 2014, 7.

53 In other words outright gifts might have been made to the Tetrapolis to a total of e.g., 32,000 drachmas, with the same or other members borrowing that sum back from, or renting land acquired with the sum by, the Tetrapolis. At a yield of 8% (for this rate of return cf. Isae. 11.42, Burford 1993, 179 with n. 31), this sum would produce an income to the Tetrapolis of 2560 a year from which to fund sacrifices. For lending of a group's capital to members cf. the arrangements in Plotheia and Rhamnous (above n. 29).

54 *SEG* 58.108 (= *IG* II^2 1195 + 620 + *SEG* 44.42 + Matthaiou 2008); cf. Papazarkadas 2011, 146.

55 This seems to be a roundabout way of specifying that the entirety of the deme's sacrificial program and other expenses, amounting to 2000 drachmas in total, should be deemed to be "for the preservation of the Athenian People." Public sacrifices and other activities with a religious aspect are commonly said to be "for the preservation of the Athenian People," or similar, e.g., in this period, *IG* II^3 1, 306, 21 (names of councilors to be inscribed on a

the security of the common [funds?] and the revenues …"[56] At this point the text becomes too fragmentary to yield continuous sense, but there follow further provisions relating to the loans, including perhaps for their repayment (or payment of interest?) by the deme, and for the inscribing of the decree and perhaps the names of the lenders.[57] This text supplies a suggestive parallel for our case in several respects: the overall revenues of Kollytos, for example, are very compatible with the cost of the sacrificial program in the Tetrapolis. It is possible that in the Tetrapolis too we have to do with a list of loans from individual Tetrapolis members, designed perhaps to enhance the Tetrapolis's income from more traditional sources such as landholdings, though the relation between the amounts on Face A and Face B would still seem to suggest that the loans would have been used to create capital, rather than directly applied to the funding of sacrifices.[58]

All contributors whose demotics can be read were members of Tetrapolis demes. This situation is as we should expect. More notable is that, although the calendar itself is divided by deme, it looks as if the whole system was funded by Tetrapolis members regardless of which deme they belonged to. We may perhaps infer that Tetrapolis members were expected to attend sacrifices in any

dedication ἐφ' ὑγι[εί]αι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου [τοῦ Ἀθηναίων]); 349, 14 and 29 (Amphiaraos takes care of Athenians and others coming to his sanctuary ἐφ' ὑγιείαι καὶ σωτηρίαι of all in the country); 359, 43–44 and 416, 14–15 (priests report on good outcome of sacrifices ἐφ' ὑγιείαι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου …).

56 (10) δεδόχθαι Κολλυ[τεῦσιν· θύειν . .[10]. . κα]|ὶ τὸν δήμαρχον τοῖ[ς θεοῖς πᾶσιν καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσιν] | π̣ό̣πανα καὶ πελανὸ[. .[15]. .] με[θ' Ἡγήμον]|α ἄρχοντα· τὰς δὲ πρ[οσόδους ἁπά]σας τῶν δη[μοτῶν ὑ]|πάρχειν ἀγαθῆι τύ[χηι εἰς σω]τ̣ηρίαν τοῦ δή[μου το]|(15)ῦ Ἀθην[α]ίων ᵛ XX ᵛ δ[ραχμάς· ἐὰν] δὲ̣ τινες βο[ύλωνται] τῶν δημ̣[ο]τ̣ῶν δανε̣[ῖσαι ἐπὶ το]ῖς κοινοῖ[ς χρήμασι]|ν καὶ τα[ῖς π]ροσό̣[δοις -.

57 After references to the lenders, the revenues, and the year following the archonship of Hegemon (18–20), the text specifies that whoever is in office as demarch is to *verb* (e.g., give or pay?) "to the lenders from the revenues" (21) τοῖς δανεί]|σασιν ἐ[κ] τῶν προσόδω[ν -[21]-] | δὲ αὐτῶ[ν] καὶ [-[25]- στήλ|ηι λ?]ι[θί?]νηι -. Inscribed above the deme decree on the same stone is a decree of the People. It is too fragmentary for its substantive content to be clear, but one might guess that it encouraged demes to expand and renew their sacrificial programs and other religious activities "for the preservation of the Athenian People." If so, the measure was characteristically Lykourgan. Cf. *IG* II^3 1, 447 with note on *Attic Inscriptions Online*. Matthaiou 2008 wonders if the motivation in this case might have been specifically the grain shortages of this period.

58 It is not clear whether interest was payable by the deme on the loans in Kollytos. The Tetrapolis would not perhaps have paid interest on any loans from its members. At least, if loans were used to create capital, any interest paid by the Tetrapolis must have been less than the return on capital, or else there would have been no surplus to fund sacrifices.

of the four demes—some confirmation here, perhaps, of the impression given by the surviving epigraphical record as a whole, that, in this region, Tetrapolis identity was stronger than deme identity.

There seem to have been about 400 'contributors,' contributing on average between 20 and 100 drachmas each. We can calculate that this number of contributors represents around a third of adult male members of Tetrapolis demes. In my 2000 article I noted that it indicates a rather high degree of continuing commitment of Tetrapolis members to the religion of their local community in the fourth century. In the context of this paper I would emphasize another point: it is a remarkably collectivist system of sacrificial funding. It would have been possible, no doubt, for the Tetrapolis to have funded its sacrifices from the contributions (whether loans or outright gifts) of one or two of its wealthiest members, but an explicit decision has been made here not to do that, and to fund by a large number of relatively small contributions rather than a small number of large ones. The mass—or if not the mass, one might perhaps say the middle class—is not here the object of the *philotimia* of the elite, it is participating with the elite in an act of *philotimia*. This point is emphasized by the way the names are listed: not in separate columns, but continuously, with multiple names on a single line, packed closely together. This is not to say that there was any neglecting of the detail—the cutter made corrections to apparently inaccurately inscribed amounts allocated for sacrifices on Face A, and in lines 50–52 of Face B he has also corrected the names of donors and the amounts they contributed. For accounting reasons, but also for reasons of *philotimia*, it was important that individual contributions be accurately displayed.

There are two further points I should like to emphasize in the context of this volume. We have to do here with a system in which, whatever the precise mechanism, wealth is being transferred from the wealthy to the less wealthy in the community, in a manner that gives the 'donors' a claim to the *timē* which was an essential driver of benefaction in the Greek value system, but, with many 'donors' involved, and the community itself acting as intermediary, prevents the development of 'undemocratic' relationships of patronage between individual donors and individual beneficiaries. Thus the poorer members obtain the benefits of a lively local festival program, including shares of sacrificial meat, yet would not have felt that they owed this benefit to an individual donor or donors, but to the Tetrapolis as a whole. It is not individuals, but the collective that is the lynchpin in the system, the focus of obligations and the provider of benefits.

Finally, I would emphasize the breadth of the sacrificial system's anthropological and sociological reach. Land, the rental income from which funded sacrifices, was usually agricultural; insofar as the funding system involved loans

by and from individuals they will also have been to a large extent generated by and used for agriculture. The livelihoods of the Tetrapolis members were derived largely from agriculture: the products of that same agriculture, animal and vegetable, were featured as offerings in the sacrificial calendars. As I sought to show in the earlier sections of this paper, the religion that the calendar records in outline was a religion generated by anxieties and aspirations for the human life, and the animal and vegetable life on which that human life depended, of a local community. The sacrificial system did not exist in some kind of closed-off religious compartment of life, it encompassed the ordinary daily lives of Tetrapolis members, and in more ways than one it gave those lives meaning.

Appendix: Text and Translation of the Sacrificial Calendar of the Marathonian Tetrapolis (SEG 50.168; AIO Papers 1 no. 2)

Face A

Col. 1	**Col. 2**
	- - - - -ΟΙ[- -c. 8–20- - τάδε ὁ δήμαρχος]
	[ὁ Μ]ạραθωνίων θύει ε. - - -c. 14–24- - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	̣ηνται δέκα ἡμερῶν ἥρωι - - -c. 12–22- - -
[τετάρτης τ]ριμήνο	χοῖρος *v* ⊢⊢⊢ *v* τράπεζα τῶι ἥρῳ[ι ⊢ *vac.* ?]
[Μουνιχιῶν]ος	Βοηδρομιῶνος *v* πρὸ Μυστ[η]ρί[ων - -c. 8–17- -]
[-c. 4–10- Π]ρακτηρίωι κριὸς Δ⊢⊢	βôς *v* 𐅄ΔΔΔΔ οἶς Δ⊢⊢ *v* Κουροτρόφω[ι οἶς Δ⊢ *vac.* ?]
[Θαργηλιῶ]νος	δευτέρας *v* τριμήνο *v* Ποσιδεῶ̣ν[ος - -c. 5–13- -]
- -c. 5–12- - παρὰ τὸν πύργον οἶς Δ⊢⊢	βοῦς ⟦Η𐅄 *vvv*⟧[1] οἶς Δ⊢⊢ *v* ἡρώινηι [οἶς Δ⊢? ἱερώσυνα]
[Σκιροφοριῶ]νος	𐅃⊢⊢ *v* Γῆι ἐγ γύαις βοῦς *v* κύουσα 𐅄ΔΔ[ΔΔ? ἱερώσυνα ⊢⊢⊢⊢?]
- -c. 6–13- - ἐν ἀγορᾶι κριὸς *v* Δ⊢⊢	Τελετῆι σπυΔια : ΔΔΔΔ *vacat*
[ἐν(*or* δω)δεκάτ?]ẹι Διὶ Ὁρίωι οἶς Δ⊢⊢	τρίτης *v* τριμήνο *v* Γαμηλ[ιῶ]νος - -c. 7–14- -
[- -c. 6–13- -]ιαι *v* οἶς Δ⊢	Δαίραι *v* οἶς κύουσα ⋮ Δ𐅃⊢ ἱερώσυνα ⊢ *vacat?*
- -max c. 7–15- - τάδε τοῦ τῶν ἐν	Γῆι ἐπὶ τῶι μαντείωι *v* οἶς Δ⊢ *v* Διὶ Ὑπ[άτωι - -c. 2–9- -]
[- -c. 5–12- ἐ]νιαυτοῦ ἕκαστον	Ἰο⟨λ⟩έωι οἶς Δ⊢⊢ *v* Κουροτρόφωι χοῖρο[ς ⊢⊢⊢ τράπε]-
[- -c. 6–13- -]α ἑξῆς ὡς γέγραπται	ζα ⊢ ἱερώσυνα ⋮ ⊢⊢IC *v* ἥρωι Φηραίωι [οἶς Δ⊢⊢? *vac.*]
[- -c. 7–14- -]τον τὸν ἐν τạῖ̣ς	ἡρώινηι οἶς *v* Δ⊢ ἱερώσυνα *v* ⊢⊢⊢ *vacat*
[- -c. 6–13- - π]αρὰ τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον	Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος δεκάτηι ἱσταμένο[υ? Γῆι ἐπὶ τῶι]
[- -c. 7–14- -]ωι ἐν Κυνοσούραι	μαντείωι τράγος παμμέλας Δ𐅃 ἱε[ρώσυνα -c. 1–2-]
[- -c. 5–11- παρ]ạ̀ τὸ Ἡρακλεῖον	τετάρτης τριμήνο Μουνιχιῶνος Ἀρ[ιστομά]-
- -max c. 8–15- - τετάρτης	χωι βôς *v* 𐅄ΔΔΔΔ *v* οἶς *v* Δ⊢⊢ ἡρώινηι *v* οἶς Δ⊢ ἱε̣ρ[ώσυ]-
[τριμήνο *v* Μο]υνιχιῶνος	να ⋮ 𐅃⊢⊢ Νεανίαι βôς 𐅄ΔΔΔΔ *v* οἶς *v* Δ⊢⊢ *v* χοῖρο[ς ⊢⊢⊢]

Col. 1	**Col. 2**
	…
	… [these the demarch]
	of Marathon sacrifices …
	within ten days, for the hero …
[fourth] quarter,	a piglet, 3 dr., table for the hero, [1 dr.?];
[Mounichion],	Boedromion, before the Mysteries …
for—Prakterios, a ram, 12 dr.;	a bovine, 90 dr., a sheep, 12 dr., for Kourotrophos [a sheep, 11 dr.?];
[Thargelion],	second quarter, Posideon …
… by the tower, a sheep, 12 dr.;	a bovine, ⟦150 dr.⟧,[59] a sheep, 12 dr., for the heroine [a sheep, 11 dr.?, priestly dues (hierōsuna)],
[Skirophorion],	7 dr., for Earth in the fields (Gēi eg guais), a pregnant bovine, 90 (?) dr., [priestly dues (hierōsuna), 4 dr.?],
… in the agora, a ram, 12 dr.,	for Telete, baskets (?) (spu⟨ri⟩dia?), 40 dr.;
[on the eleventh *or* twelfth?], for Zeus Horios, a sheep, 12 dr.,	third quarter, Gamelion …
for …, a sheep, 11 dr.,	for Daira, a pregnant sheep, 16 dr., priestly dues (hierōsuna), 1 dr.,
[…?] the following …	for Earth at the oracle (Gēi epi tōi manteiōi), a sheep, 11 dr., for Zeus Hyp[atos?] …
… in the year of the—in (?) … each	for Ioleus, a sheep, 12 dr., for Kourotrophos, a piglet, [3 dr., a table],
… in order as is written	1 dr., priestly dues (hierōsuna), 2 dr. 1½ ob., for the hero Pheraios [a sheep, 1 dr. ?],
… the one on the	for the heroine, a sheep, 11 dr., priestly dues (hierōsuna), 3 dr.;
… by the Eleusinion	Elaphebolion, on the tenth, [for Earth at the]
… in Kynosoura	oracle ([Gēi epi tōi] manteiōi), a completely black he-goat, 15 dr., priestly dues (hierōsuna) …;
… by the Herakleion;	fourth quarter, Mounichion, for Aristomachos,
[…?] fourth	a bovine, 90 dr., a sheep, 12 dr., for the heroine, a sheep, 11 dr., priestly
[quarter], Mounichion,	dues (hierōsuna), 7 dr., for the Youth (Neaniai), a bovine, 90 dr., a sheep, 12 dr., a piglet [3 dr.],

59 90 dr. was originally inscribed and corrected to 150 dr. Perhaps the cutter should rather have corrected the price for the pregnant bovine in the next line.

(cont.)

Col. 1	**Col. 2**
[- -c. 8–15- -]νου *v* οἷς Δ⊢⊢	ἡρώινηι : οἷς *v* Δ⊢ *v* ἱερώσυνα : Π⊢⊢IC *vacat*
- -max c. 8–16- - πρώτης	τάδε ὁ δήμαρχος ὁ Μαραθωνίων θύει· ἥρωι ἐν
[τριμήνο *v* Ἑκ]ạτομβαιῶνος	Δ̣ρασιλείαι : οἷς *v* Δ⊢⊢ *v* τράπεζα ⊢ ἡρώινηι *v* οἷς *v* Δ⊢
[- -c. 5–11- ἱστα]μένου	ἥρωι παρὰ τὸ Ἑλλώτιον *v* οἷς *v* Δ⊢⊢ *v* τράπεζα ⊢ *v* ἡρώι-
[Ἀπόλλωνι? *v* Ἀπ]οτροπαίωι *v* αἶξ Δ⊢⊢	νηι οἷς Δ⊢ *vacat*
[δευτέρας τρι]μήνο Πυανοψιῶνος	Θαργηλιῶνος Ἀχαίαι κριὸς Δ⊢⊢ *v* θήλεια Δ⊢
[- -c. 8–16- -]ων οἷς κύουσα ΔΠ⊢⊢	ἱερώσυνα : ⊢⊢⊢ : Μοίραις *v* χοῖρος *v* ⊢⊢⊢ *v* ἱερώσ-
[τετάρτης τρι]μήνο Μουνιχιῶνος	υνα IC *vacat*
[- -c. 8–15- -]Ị ῳ̣ι αἶξ ⁝ Δ⊢⊢	Σκιροφοριῶνος *v* πρὸ Σκίρων Ὑττηνίωι τὰ ὡρα[ῖ]-
[- -c. 8–15- -]ẹιον ⁝ Δ⊢⊢	α *v* οἷς *v* Δ⊢⊢ *v* Κοροτρόφωι χοῖρος ⊢⊢⊢ ἱερώσυνα ⊢⊢I[C]
- -c. 9–16- - τετάρτης	Τριτοπατρεῦσι *v* οἷς ⟨Δ⊢⊢?⟩ ἱερεώσυνα ⊢⊢ *v* Ἀκάμασιν
[τριμήνο *v* Μο]υνιχιῶνος	οἷς Δ⊢⊢ ἱερώσυνα ⊢⊢ *vacat*
[- -c. 8–16- -]ạίωι αἶξ *v* Δ⊢⊢	τάδε τὸ ἕτερον ἔτος προτέρα δραμοσύνη· Ἑκα-
[- -c. 9–17- -]ῃ̣ι οἷς Δ⊢⊢	τομβαιῶνος ⁝ Ἀθηναίαι Ἑλλωτίδι βὸς 𐅄ΔΔΔ
[- -c. 9–17- -]νει ⁝ οἷς Δ⊢⊢	οἶες τρεῖς *v* ΔΔΔ⊢⊢⊢ ⁝ χοῖρος *v* ⊢⊢⊢ *v* ἱερώσυνα Π⊢[⊢IC]
[- -c. 9–15- -]Σ̣[-c. 2-] ọἷς Δ̣⊢̣⊢̣	Κοροτρόφωι οἷς *v* Δ⊢ *v* χοῖρος *v* ⊢⊢⊢ ἱερώσυνα ⊢[IC]
- -c. 9–16- -	δαφνηφόροις Π⊢⊢ *vacat*
[προτέρα? *v* δραμ]οσύνη	τάδε τὸ ἕτερον ἔτος θύεται μετὰ Εὔβουλον *v* ἄρχ[ο]-
[δευτέρας τριμ]ήνο Πυανοψιῶνος	ντα Τετραπολεῦσι ὑστέρα δραμοσύνη·
[- -c. 8–15- - β]οῦς *v* 𐅄ΔΔΔ	Ἑκατομβαιῶνος *v* Ἀθηναίαι Ἑλλωτίδι οἷς : Δ[⊢]
[τρίτης τριμή]νο Γαμηλιῶνος	Κοροτρόφωι *v* χοῖρος ⁝ ⊢⊢⊢ ἱερώσυνα ⊢IC *vacat*
[- -c. 9–17- -]Ιιδων ὗς κύουσα 𐅄Δ̣Δ̣	Μεταγειτνιῶνος *v* Ἐλευσινίαι βὸς *v* 𐅄ΔΔΔ̣
[τετάρτης τριμήνο] Μουνιχιῶνος	Κόρηι κριὸς *v* Δ⊢⊢ *v* χοῖροι *v* τρεῖς Π⊢⊢⊢⊢ ἱερώ[σ]-
- -c. 11–19- - Νυμφαγέτει αἶξ Δ⊢⊢	υνα *v* Π⊢IIIIC : ἀλφίτων ἑκτεὺς IIII οἴνο χõ[ς ⊢]

Col. 1	**Col. 2**
… a sheep, 12 dr.;	for the heroine, a sheep, 11 dr., priestly dues (hierōsuna), 7 dr. 1½ ob.;
[…?] first	these the demarch of Marathon sacrifices, for the hero in
[quarter], Hekatombaion,	[D]rasileia, a sheep, 12 dr., a table, 1 dr., for the heroine, a sheep, 11 dr.,
on the [*date*],	for the hero by the marsh sanctuary (Hellōtion), a sheep, 12 dr., a table, 1 dr.,
[for Apollo?] Apotropaios, a goat, 12 dr.;	for the heroine, a sheep, 11 dr.;
[second] quarter, Pyanopsion,	Thargelion, for Achaia, a ram, 12 dr., a female,[60] 11 dr.,
… a pregnant sheep, 17 dr.;	priestly dues (hierōsuna), 3 dr., for the Fates (Moirais), a piglet, 3 dr.,
[fourth] quarter, Mounichion,	priestly dues (hierōsuna), 1½ ob.;
… a goat, 12 dr.,	Skirophorion, before Skira, for Hyttenios, the annual offerings (ōraia),
… 12 dr.;	a sheep, 12 dr., for Kourotrophos, a piglet, 3 dr., priestly dues (hierōsuna), 2 dr. 1½ ob.,
[…?] fourth	for the Tritopatreis, a sheep, ⟨12 dr.?⟩, priestly dues (hierōsuna), 2 dr., for the Akamantes,
[quarter], Mounichion,	a sheep, 12 dr., priestly dues (hierōsuna), 2 dr.;
… -aios, a goat, 12 dr.,	these every other year, prior sequence (protera dramosunē),
…, a sheep, 12 dr.,	Hekatombaion, for Athena Hellotis, a bovine, 90 dr.,
…, a sheep, 12 dr.,	three sheep, 33 dr., a piglet, 3 dr., priestly dues (hierōsuna), 7 dr. 1½ ob.,
…, a sheep, 12 dr.;	for Kourotrophos, a sheep, 11 dr., a piglet, 3 dr., priestly dues (hierōsuna), 1 dr. 1½ ob.,
…	for the laurel-bearers (daphnēphorois), 7 dr.;
[prior?] sequence (dramosunē),	these are sacrificed every other year, after the archonship of Euboulos
[second] quarter, Pyanopsion,	for the Tetrapoleis, posterior sequence (hustera dramosunē),
…, a bovine, 90 dr.;	Hekatombaion, for Athena Hellotis, a sheep, 11 dr.,
[third] quarter, Gamelion,	for Kourotrophos, a piglet, 3 dr., priestly dues (hierōsuna), 1 dr. 1½ ob.;
… -idai, a pregnant sow, 70 (?) dr.;	Metageitnion, for Eleusinia, a bovine, 90 dr.,
[fourth quarter], Mounichion,	for the Girl (Korēi), a ram, 12 dr., 3 piglets, 9 dr., priestly dues (hierōsuna),
… Nymphagetes, a goat, 12 dr.;	6 dr. 4½ ob., a sixth (hekteus) of barley, 4 ob., a chous of wine [1 dr.],

60 I.e., a ewe.

(cont.)

Col. 1	Col. 2
[Θαργηλιῶνος?]	Κοροτρόφωι οἶς Δ⊢ ἱερώσυνα ⊢ *vacat*
[- - c. 9–17 - - Π?]ọταμῶι κριὸς : Δ⊢⊢	Διὶ *v* Ἀνθαλεῖ *v* οἶς *v* Δ⊢⊢ ἱερώσυνα ⊢⊢
- - c. 10–19 - - αἶξ : Δ⊢⊢	Ἀνθεστηριῶνος *v* Ἐλευσινίαι ὗς κύουσα 𐅄̣Δ[Δ?]
- - c. 8–16 - -. τηι κριὸς Δ⊢⊢	ἱερώσυνα ⊢̣ Χλόηι *v* παρὰ τὰ Μειδύλου *v* ὗς κυο̣σ̣[α 𐅄?]
- - c. 8–15 - -. ουβατωι αἶξ *v* Δ⊢⊢	ΔΔ ἱερώσυνα ⊢ *v* ἀλφίτων ἐκτεὺς IIII οἴνο χ[ὸς ⊢]
- - c. 7–14 - - ọἶς Δ⊢⊢	Σκιροφοριῶνος : πρὸ Σκίρων *v* Γαλίωι κριὸς Δ[⊢⊢]
[- - c. 8–15 - -]ολει : οἶς Δ⊢	ἱερώσυνα ⊢⊢ *v* φρέατος Γ⊢ Τριτοπατρεῦσι *vacat*
[Σκιροφοριῶ?]νος	τράπεζα ⊢ *vacat*
[- - c. 7–14 - -]Ị οἶς *v* Δ⊢⊢	Τρικορυνθοῖ τάδε ὅσα ἔτη· πρώτης τριμήνο
[Ἀθηναίαι Ἑλλ]ω̣τίδι χοῖρος : ⊢⊢⊢	Μεταγει[τν]ιῶνος Ἥραι : βοῦς 𐅄ΔΔΔ *v* οἶς Δ⊢
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	- - - - c. 20–22 - - - - Κ̣ουροτρόφωι - - - - - - -
	- -

Col. 1	**Col. 2**
[Thargelion?]	for Kourotrophos, a sheep, 11 dr., priestly dues (hierōsuna), 1 dr.,
… river (?), a ram, 12 dr.,	for Zeus Anthaleus, a sheep, 12 dr., priestly dues (hierōsuna), 2 dr.;
… a goat, 12 dr.,	Anthesterion, for Eleusinia, a pregnant sow, 70 (?) dr.,
… a ram, 12 dr.,	priestly dues (hierōsuna), 1 dr., for Chloe by the property of Meidylos, a pregnant sow, [70 dr.?],
… a goat, 12 dr.,	priestly dues (hierōsuna), 1 dr., a sixth (hekteus) of barley, 4 ob., a chous of wine [1 dr.];
… a sheep, 12 dr.,	Skirophorion, before Skira, for Galios, a ram, 12 dr.,
… a sheep, 11 dr.;	priestly dues (hierōsuna), 2 dr., for the well (?) (phreatos), 6 dr., for the Tritopatreis,
[Skirophorion?],	a table, 1 dr.
… a sheep, 12 dr.,	At Trikorynthos these every year, first quarter,
for Athena Hellotis, a piglet, 3 dr.,	Metageitnion, for Hera, a bovine, 90 dr., a sheep, 11 dr.
…	… for Kourotrophos …
	…

Face B

- - - - σ̣[ισ]τ̣ρ̣α̣τος Μα.
- - - - Μα]ρ Δ̣Δ Ἀρχεναύτης Μα ΔΔ⊢⊢.
- - - - ... Δ̣ Ἡγησίστρατος Μαρ
- - - -δωρος -c. 5–6- Ἰσόδ̣ι̣κ̣ος Οἰν̣αι Δ-c. 2–3-
- - - - γονος Ἁ̣γνόστρατ̣ος v Μα̣ρ -amount- Πατροκ̣λῆς Οἰνα̣ι Δ̣[.?]
- - - -Ιος 𐅅̣Η̣Δ⊢⊢̣Ι̣Ι̣Ι̣ Ω̣[-c. 6- Μ]α̣ρ̣ [-c. 6-]ο̣. . ος Οἰν⟦α̣ amount⟧
- - - - χ̣ος - - - - - - Ι̣Ι̣[-c. 1–2] Μ̣α̣[ρ -]
- - - - - στ- - - - - - - - - - - - - Δ̣Δ̣Δ̣ -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - Δ̣Δ̣ -
- - - - - - - ΣΟ- - - - - - - - - - Δ̣Δ̣ -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - Μ̣α̣ρ̣ - Ρ - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - Δ̣⊢̣
- - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - ΔΔ - - - - - - - - ΡΛ-
- - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - ⊢̣⊢̣⊢̣
- - - - - - - - - - - Μ̣α̣ 𐅄̣Δ̣
- - - - - - - - ΣΤ - Μ̣α̣ Δ̣⊢̣⊢̣
- - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - -
ca. 28 lines severely abraded
- - - ⟦- Ἁγήτωρ̣ Π̣ρ̣[ο? - -⟧ - - - - - -]
- - - ⟦- 𐅄ΔΔ ... - -⟧ - - -
- - - ⟦- ... Μ̣α̣ρ̣ Δ̣⊢̣ Λ̣?⟧ -c. 2–3-ο̣ς̣ - - -
ca. 8 lines severely abraded
- - - - - - - - - - ΦΛ̣⊢̣⊢̣ - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - -ος - - - - - - - -

... -sistratos of Marathon
... of Marathon, 20 dr., Archenautes of Marathon, 22 (?) dr.,
... *at least* 10 dr., Hegesistratos of Marathon,
... -doros ... Isodikos of Oinoe, *at least* 10 dr.,
... -gonos, Hagnostratos of Marathon, ..., Patrokles of Oinoe, *at least* 10 dr.,
... 612 dr. 3 ob. (?), ... of Marathon, ... of Oinoe, ...
... -chos ... of Marathon ...
... *at least* 30 dr. (?)
... *at least* 20 dr. (?)
... *at least* 20 dr. (?)
...
... of Marathon ...
... *at least* 11 dr. (?)
...
... *at least* 20 dr. (?) ...
...
... *at least* 3 dr. (?)
... of Marathon, 60 dr. (?)
... of Marathon, 12 dr. (?)
...
...
About 28 lines illegible
... Hagetor of Probalinthos (?) ...
... *at least* 70 dr. ...
... of Marathon, 11 dr. (?),[61] ...
About 8 lines illegible
... *at least* 2 dr. (?) ...
...

61 The surviving text in lines 50–52 is inscribed in an erasure.

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CHAPTER 7

Table Arrangements: *Sitêsis* as a Polis Institution (*IG* I^3 131)*

Josine Blok and Evelyn van 't Wout

Introduction

Among the special honors the polis Athens could confer was *sitêsis*, the privilege of receiving dinner during one's lifetime at the Prytaneion. *Sitêsis* was a gift of the people in gratitude for exceptional contributions to its welfare. For the greater part of the Classical era the beneficiaries of the honor seem to have been Athenians from birth, whereas by the very end of the fourth century extant decrees show that *sitêsis* was also granted to foreigners who had received citizenship.[1] The dinner for which the honorands had a standing invitation was probably shared with guests, citizens and foreigners alike, honored with an invitation to a *deipnon* (meal) at the Prytaneion for a particular occasion.[2] The building, which housed the sacred hearth of Athens, was the appropriate place for the polis to offer hospitality to such a select company of guests. *Sitêsis*, the origins of which some traditions ascribed to Solon,[3] may therefore be consid-

* We would like to express our gratitude to Stephen Lambert for sharing with us his observations from autopsy of the stone, which includes a significant new reading at the end of line 8, for his comments on our paper and on the draft of this article, and for conveying to us the views of Stephen V. Tracy on the cutter of *IG* I^3 131. We further warmly thank P.J. Rhodes for his comments on the draft of this article, the participants of the conference for their response, and especially our colleagues Floris van den Eijnde and Rolf Strootman for their collaboration.

1 The earliest extant decrees with *sitêsis* for foreigners made Athenian citizens are *IG* II^2 385b, honors for Aristonikos of Karystos, 319/8; *IG* II^2 450, honors for Asandros of Macedon, 314/3 (Cutter of EM 12807, Tracy 1995; it is highly likely that he was awarded citizenship as well in a part of the decree now lost, Lambert 2000: 488–489, Osborne 1981a, D 42); *IG* II^2 646, a citizenship decree for Herodoros (Osborne 1981a, D 68) of 295/4, Tracy 2003, 13 n. 19. Occasional invitations to citizens and non-Athenians for a *deipnon* in the Prytaneion are far more frequent and cannot be considered the same as the lifelong *sitêsis*.

2 For *sitêsis* as a gift of the people and the signs of benevolence for which it was granted, see Schmitt Pantel (1992) 2011, 153–154.

3 The foundation of the Athenian Prytaneion was associated in antiquity with the Thesean

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ered one of the prime institutions in which the polis construed and reproduced its internal and external relationships in the shape of a feast.

The earliest public document at Athens testifying to this institution is *IG* I³ 131, an inscribed decree that regulates the privilege of lifelong dining in the Prytaneion. Known as the Prytaneion decree, the extant inscription is a very lacunose text, beset by tantalizing uncertainties. The Prytaneion itself, the prominent place housing this honorific dinner, was not identified until a few years ago. Schmalz presented a strong case for its location on the southeast side of the Acropolis, an identification now shifted to a different place very close to Schmalz's site, on Odos Tripodon, by Kavvadias and Matthaiou.[4] Only a corner of the complex has as yet been uncovered, but its estimated size is an impressive 45 by 65 m. The building is situated in close proximity to two important religious sites, the cave where Kekrops's daughter Aglauros was venerated and the Anakeion, the sanctuary of the Dioskouroi. This context may further our understanding of the content and purpose of the decree.

Our contribution to the discussion of the decree will on some points be merely cautionary: several supplements and interpretations that have enjoyed favor in the past should in our judgement be abandoned. But we will also explore some hypotheses that have found few defenders so far, such as the possibility that the honor of dining for descendants of the Tyrannicides was made hereditary through eldest sons at this stage, and that communal dining in the Prytaneion may have encompassed a *theoxenia*.[5] A new text, based on the arguments we advance here, will be offered at the end of this article, with a fresh translation. We will, furthermore, attempt to situate the decree in its

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synoikismos (Thuc. 2.15, Plut. *Thes*. 24.3; see also below); it was reputedly functional at the time of Solon (Plut. *Sol*. 19.3). Plutarch (*Sol*. 24.3) ascribes to Solon the institution of dining at public expense (σίτησις ἐν δημοσιῷ) called παρασιτεῖν by Solon himself; interestingly, in this account Solon prohibited that the same man would dine too often (so did *not* institute *sitêsis* as known in the fifth century) and punished someone who failed to answer the invitation for dining. Athenaeus 4.137e credits him with establishing the menu at the Prytaneion. Other references to communal dining at the Prytaneion attest the practice from ca. 500 onwards; it becomes a commonplace in the literary and epigraphic record of the second half of the fifth century; see Miller 1978, 136–147 for the testimonia up to ca. 400.

4 Schmalz 2006; Kavvadias and Matthaiou 2014, 51–53, 63, for the debate on the location of the Prytaneion and its connection to the Anakeion. The authors further discuss a recently found fragmentary inscription dating probably to the late 460s or early 450s, which deals with the *prytaneis* and points to the site at 32 Odos Tripodon as the location of the Prytaneion.

5 For the designation *theoxenia*, and for attested *theoxeniai* to the Dioskouroi, see Nilsson 1957³, 409–410 and Jameson 1994.

historical context, which, in our assessment, must have been the early 420s. In our overall assessment of the decree, we will highlight its significance to the formation of the polis's institutions.

The Date of the Decree

The inscription is of monumental quality, carefully executed, and cut stoichedon. Ostwald, Thompson, Osborne, Rhodes, MacDowell, and others have followed Wade-Gery in dating it to the early 430s, based on the similarity of the aesthetic quality of the lettering to *IG* I^3 1180, a casualty list dated to 439–435, which we have not been able to compare.[6] We prefer a later date first proposed by Mattingly.[7] Mattingly adduces Aristophanes's comedy *Knights*, performed at the Lenaia of 424, as a *terminus ante quem*: a running gag throughout this play is the protagonists' suitability for the honor of dining at the Prytaneion—or rather, their lack of suitability.[8] Thus, at *Knights* 765 the Paphlagonian, a caricature of the Athenian general Kleon, prays as follows:

Τῇ μὲν δεσποίνῃ Ἀθηναίῃ, τῇ τῆς πόλεως μεδεούσῃ,
εὔχομαι, εἰ μὲν περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων γεγένημαι
βέλτιστος ἀνὴρ μετὰ Λυσικλέα καὶ Κύνναν καὶ Σαλαβακχώ,
ὥσπερ νυνὶ μηδὲν δράσας δειπνεῖν ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ.

I pray to our lady Athena, sovereign of the city, that if I have been worthiest of all servants of the Athenian people (after Lysikles, Kynna and Salabakcho) I may dine in the Prytaneion, as I do now, for having done … nothing.

tr. SOMMERSTEIN

6 Wade-Gery 1932–1933, 127; Ostwald 1951, 25; Thompson 1975; Osborne 1981b, 158; Rhodes 1984, 199; MacDowell 2007, 111. Miller 1978, 139–140 dates the inscription to 431–421, without argument. Wade-Gery believed that the proposer was Perikles (a suggestion followed by Thompson 1971, 226 and Morrissey 1978, 122), but as Mattingly 1990, 114 n. 22 points out, this is not warranted by the traces of the proposer's name (. . .]ịκλε̂ς) on the stone.

7 Mattingly 1990, 114–115.

8 The joke is prepared in a general way at Ar. *Eq*. 167–168, applied to 'Kleon' at 281–283, again formulated in general terms in the parabasis at 573–576, and then applied to 'Kleon' at 709, 766, and in the play's very closing lines at 1404–1405.

As Mattingly notes, such jesting would work best if "the Prytaneion Decree and its very language was still fairly fresh in the spectators' minds." It is difficult to estimate exactly how "fresh" the decree should have been; should we assume that it was passed shortly before the play's performance in 424? Was it partly intended to facilitate a grant of *sitêsis* to Kleon for his exploits at Pylos in 425?[9] The comedy does not use the decree's "very language" exactly: in the passage above, the Paphlagonian speaks of *deipnein en tôi prytaneiôi*, and a few lines earlier (573–576) the chorus decries *stratêgoi* who ask for *sitêsis*, whereas the decree refers to *sitesin en tôi* (or *em*) *prytaneiôi*. Rather, it would seem that Aristophanes's jokes about the grant of *sitêsis* to Kleon on the authority of the decree recalled its main contents. A scenario in which more time elapsed between the passing of the decree and the performance of the *Knights* is therefore also possible.

Two further arguments for a dating of the Prytaneion decree can be found in the length and form of the prescript, and in the hand of the cutter. The inclusion of a heading stating the secretary under whom the decree was passed is well attested from the early 420s onward.[10] The prescript as a whole, which takes up slightly over three lines and approximately 104 characters, is rather comprehensive, containing as it does all elements that become standard in decrees, but no archon.[11] Again, this would fit well with a date in the early 420s.[12] Similarly, while, as Tracy insists, the hand of the cutter cannot be an exact dating criterion by itself, his identification of the cutter of *IG* I^3 131 supports this hypothesis. The hand corresponds to that of a small number of important decrees inscribed between around 430 and 409, of which *IG* I^3 43, dated in *IG* to 435–427, and *IG* I^3 302 of 424/3, the closest in date to the *Knights*, may be connected to the Prytaneion decree.[13]

9 Pylos is mentioned explicitly as the reason for awarding 'Kleon' privileged seating (*proedria*) at Ar. *Eq*. 702.

10 The heading X ἐγραμμάτευε is attested in the following group of datable or dated decrees: *IG* I^3 31 (425/4), 66 (427/6), 75 (424/3), 79 (422/1), and more after this date; and in a group of undatable decrees: *IG* I^3 30, 158, 190, 187, and several more.

11 The prescript of *IG* I^3 131: [. . . . . c. 15 . . . . . .] ἐγραμ[μάτευε vac.] / [ἔδοχσεν τε̂ι βολε̂ι καὶ τô̂ι δέμ]οι· Ἐρεχθεὶς ἐπ[ρυτάνευε, .] / [. . 7–9 . . . ἐγραμμάτευε, . 2–4 .]θιππος ἐπεστάτε, [. . .]ịκλε̂ς̣ [ε]/ [ῖ̂πε·

12 *IG* I^3 82 (421/420) is the earliest inscription to list the archon as well.

13 Tracy, in personal communication to Stephen Lambert, groups *IG* I^3 131 with *IG* I^3 43 (dated in *IG*: 435–427), 78^b (*IG*: ca. 422; Cavanaugh 1996: 430), 105 (*IG*: ca. 409), 187 (unknown), 1330 (Rahn 1986: 420–400), and 302 (*IG*: 424/3); see also Tracy 2016: 115.

We have considered three dating criteria: the relationship with Aristophanes's *Knights*, the form of the prescript, and the hand of the cutter. While none of these are conclusive by themselves, together they support a date in the early 420s, between 429 and 424.

The Diners

The decision recorded in the inscription is to provide sustenance in the Prytaneion for a select company of diners. The invitees are grouped in four or five categories, and the nature of each of these is defined in a short section. We will briefly address the interpretation of each section and some of its textual features separately. Along the way, we will touch upon several aspects of the structure of the text as a whole.

Throughout the decree, the same phrasing recurs, with slight variations: there "is to be *sitêsis* in the Prytaneion" for several categories of invitees. The term *sitêsis* is preserved in full three times (lines 10, 13, and 14), once with minimal damage (line 7), and can be supplied with reasonable certainty four more times (lines 4, 8, 11, and 18). It is a neutral but rare term for "sustenance,"[14] and in later decrees functions as the standard label for a permanent invitation to the Prytaneion.[15]

Schmitt Pantel assumes that *sitêsis* is older than *deipnon* (meal) and *xenia* (guest-meal), but perhaps more relevant is the observation that the latter two both focus on the singular 'occasion,' rather than on the fact of continued sustenance itself.[16] Numerous decrees from the mid-fifth century onwards record occasional invitations to *deipnon*, extended to Athenian citizens, and invitations to *xenia*, extended to noncitizens.[17] Miller and Osborne take these to have been separate occasions, or at least to have been differentiated in practice; but as Rhodes has argued in an exemplary treatment of exceptions to this rule, the distinction may well be a terminological one: *deipnon* and *xenia* may just have been "names given in different circumstances to the same entertainment."[18]

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14 Herodotus uses the word σίτησις in the sense 'food' or 'sustenance' (e.g., 3.23, 4.17); cf. Plato, *Rep.* 404d σίτησις καὶ δίαιτα, "sustenance and daily needs."

15 See Rhodes 1984, 199.

16 Schmitt Pantel (1992) 2011, 97–100, 164–168 ascribes the institution of the *prytaneis* and their meals in the Tholos to Kleisthenes.

17 See Osborne 1981b, 154 n. 4 for an overview.

18 Miller 1978, 5–8; Osborne 1981b, 154–155; Rhodes 1984, 196.

Such occasional hospitality was probably offered at the same tables where permanent sustenance was provided.

Following Rhodes's argument that from 462/1 onward the contingents of the *phylai* began their function as *prytaneis* and that by then the Tholos was built where they were to dine together, the result must have been that, in the words of Schmitt Pantel, the Tholos became the "*table politique*" of Athens, while the Prytaneion continued to function as the "*table hospitalière*."[19] It was in the Prytaneion that envoys from abroad might be received and welcomed into a select company of prominent Athenians, among whom were descendants of Harmodios and Aristogeiton and panhellenic victors, who dined there on a regular basis. In our discussion of the five subsections of this inscription, we will reflect further on the identity of the beneficiaries of a structural grant.

Category 1 (Lines 4–5)

ἐ̂ναι τὲν σίτεσιν τὲν] ἐμ πρυτα̣νείοι πρôτο̣ν μὲν τοι[.]
[. . . . . 19 . . . . κ]ατὰ τὰ πά̣τρια· ἔπειτα τοῖς [*h*]αρμ̣-

4–5 fortasse τοῖ[ς] | *h*ιερεῦσι ἐχς Ἐλευσῖνος spiritu aspero neglecto …, vel τοῖ[σ|ι χρεσμολόγοις τô θεô vel θεομάντεσι τοῖς τô θεô … nec sane impossibile est deo ipso aut deis esse hospitium (Jameson)

To begin with the clause defining the first category of diners, in line 4, only three letters of an article survive. Any suggestion concerning their identity is therefore speculative; but the wider context does provide some clues. The current *communis opinio* is that these first invitees were Eleusinian cult officials: Schöll and Ostwald offer conjectures that would bring these officials into the text.[20] However, the evidence pointing in this direction postdates our inscription by six centuries, and pertains to the Tholos, not the Prytaneion.[21] We therefore propose to abandon this idea and explore an alternative.

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19 Rhodes 1972, 16–19; Schmitt Pantel (1992) 2011, 145–177. For the Tholos as the dining place of the *prytaneis*, see the contribution of Ann Steiner to this volume.

20 τοῖ[σ|ιν hιερεῦσι τοῖν θεοῖν (Schöll); τοῖ [*h*ιεροφάντει γενομένοι or τοῖν θεοῖν (Ostwald). M. Valdés Guía *MedAnt* 5 (2002), 185–245 (*non vidimus*; we rely here on *SEG* 59.54) suggests here τοι[ς ἐχσεγομένοις ἱερεῦσι, with reference to *IG* II² 1092 A lines 17–18; since this inscription concerns a decree of A.D. 131 that has no connection with *sitêsis* in the Prytaneion, we are not convinced by this restoration.

21 There are numerous decrees from the second century A.D. in which Eleusinian cult offi-

There is an indication that the invitees in the first category had an exceptional status in the way the text as a whole is structured. The contents of the proposal are structured into two unequal parts. "In the first place" (πρῶτον μὲν ... line 4) introduces the first category; "and then" (ἔπειτα ... line 5) comprehensively introduces the second part of the text, which contains all other categories (these categories are treated in separate sections below). The proposed categories of diners are thus not presented in a neutral summary of equal parts, but in a hierarchical manner: the text consists of two parts, the first of which is marked as primary compared to the composite second part. In the context of actual dining, the hierarchical organization πρῶτον μὲν ... ἔπειτα ... could in effect also imply a temporal distinction, the first category being served their meal before the other invitees.

Our preliminary hypothesis is that these guests of honor at the top of the list may have been the Anakes, which is the name by which the Dioskouroi, Kastor and Polydeukes, were known in Athens. For this conclusion we take our cue from a fragment of Attic comedy preserved in Athenaeus (IV.137e):

> ὁ δὲ τοὺς εἰς Χιωνίδην ἀναφερομένους Πτωχοὺς ποιήσας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους φησίν, ὅταν τοῖς Διοσκούροις ἐν πρυτανείῳ ἄριστον προτιθῶνται, ἐπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν τιθέναι 'τυρὸν καὶ φυστὴν δρυπεπεῖς τ' ἐλάας καὶ πράσα', ὑπόμνησιν ποιουμένους τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀγωγῆς.
>
> The poet of the play the *Beggars*, ascribed to Chionides, says that when the Athenians serve an early meal to the Dioskouroi in the Prytaneion, they put before them on the tables *cheese and pastry, and ripe olives and leek*, in memory of the old way of life.

Athenaeus reports that this fragment is ascribed to Chionides (fr. 7 KA), who flourished around 470; if it is by him or a contemporary poet, it is one of the older fragments of Attic comedy known to us. The reference is given in Jameson's apparatus to the *IG* I³ edition of the Prytaneion decree, with a very cautious mention of the possibility that a god or gods may have been the first invitee(s).[22] We believe that this option gains some credibility in view of the location of the Prytaneion close to the Athenian Anakeion. As the hypothesis can further only be checked against the wider context, we will return to it below.

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cials are among the ἀίσιτοι enjoying a permanent invitation to dinner at the Tholos; see Ostwald 1951, 28–32.

22 Jameson in *IG*: "nec sane impossibile est deo ipso aut deis esse hospitium."

Category 2 (Lines 5–9)

ἔπειτα τοῖς [*h*]αρμ̣-
[οδίο καὶ τοῖς Ἀριστογεί]τονος *h*ὸ[ς] ἂ̣ν ε̑ι ἐγγύτατα̣ γένος,
[*h*υιὸν γνεσίον μὲ ὄντον, ε̑ν]αι αὐτοῖσι τὲν σίτ̣[ε]σι̣[ν κ]α̣[ὶ] εἴ
[τις ἄλλος *h*είλεφε σίτεσι]ν παρὰ Ἀθεναίον κατὰ τὰ̣ [λ]ε̣γομ-
[ένα …

7 *h*υιὸν γνεσίον μὲ ὄντον, ε̑ν]αι Jameson: [ἀεὶ *h*ο πρεσβύτατος, ε̑ναι κ]αί Ostwald (sec. Schöll) 8–9 [λ]ε̣γομ[ένα Lambert: [δ]ε̣δ̣ομ|[ένα Jameson: [δ]ε̣δ̣ογ|[μένα Schöll

The second category of invitees are descendants of the Tyrannicides, Harmodios and Aristogeiton. Aristophanes's *Knights* attests to their presence at the Prytaneion in this period;[23] and given that information, enough remains of their names to securely supply the rest in the stoichedon grid.

The length of this section had been subject to debate until Ostwald revived Schöll's observation that a phrase beginning with κατά … concludes each section of the decree;[24] we may now with reasonable certainty regard lines 5–9 ([*h*]αρμ-… to …[λ]εγόμ[ενα) and lines 9–11 as two separate sections. These concluding phrases beginning with κατά in each case record the authority on which a particular group is invited to the Prytaneion. The following overview therefore gives a good impression of the process of decision-making recorded in our decree.

The *boule* and the *demos* have decided that:

category 1 *are to have sitêsis in the Prytaneion*—κατὰ τὰ πάτρια (line 5)
category 2 *are to have sitêsis in the Prytaneion*—κατὰ τὰ̣ [λ]εγομ[ένα (? lines 8–9)
category 3 *are to have sitêsis in the Prytaneion*—κατὰ ταὐτά (line 11)
category 4 *are to have sitêsis in the Prytaneion*—κατὰ τὰ ἐν τεῖ στέλει γεγραμμένα (lines 14–15; 18; two groups)
category 5 *are to have sitêsis in the Prytaneion*—[?]

23 Ar. *Eq.* 786: Ἄνθρωπε, τίς εἶ; Μῶν ἔγγονος εἶ τῶν Ἁρμοδίου τις ἐκείνων; cf. below.

24 Ostwald 1951, 27: "The grant of privilege of maintenance in the Prytaneion is motivated for each group upon which it is bestowed by a phrase beginning with κατά. This phrase always occurs at the end of the sentence in which the grant is made." Schöll 1872, 34–35: "in κατὰ τὰ δεδ. findet das vorhergehende seine Entsprechung und das in der Folge wiederholte κατὰ ταυτά seine Beziehung."

The first phrase, κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, is a stock phrase, especially relevant to religious observances and attested in decrees of about the same time as the present decree.[25] Its implications are clear: the practice referred to has been established at an unknown moment in the past. It does not necessarily indicate that the practice is of great age. What it does show is that it can be cast as an uncontroversial part of Athenian collective memory, which cannot be traced back to a particular decision to institute it.

The phrase concluding section 2 has proved difficult to interpret so far, and scholars have found diverging solutions, including emendation.[26] We have adopted a new reading proposed by Lambert, (κατὰ τὰ̣) [λ]εγομ[ένα,[27] which fits well with the progression within the sequence of *kata*-phrases throughout the inscription. Parallel cases, few though they are, indicate κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα meaning "according to oral tradition," designating a common opinion transmitted orally.[28] Here, it presumably implies a communal decision made and transmitted orally. After category three, which is to receive *sitêsis* "on the same basis" as the previous group, there follow two references to existing *stelai*: twice in the composite category four it is said that the beneficiaries are to receive *sitêsis* according to "what has been inscribed on the *stele* in the Prytaneion."

So what we see then is a progression from (1) an established practice belonging to the collective memory of the 'ancient past,' to (2) an established practice based on a communal oral decision anchored in oral tradition, and (3) a practice legitimated on the same basis, to (4) established practices that go back to particular, referenced decisions in the recent past, with some additions that are part of the proposal here recorded.

25 See e.g., *IG* I^3 7 (Praxiergiai decree) lines 8 and 22; *IG* I^3 78 (First fruits decree) lines 4, 11, 26, and 34.

26 Ostwald 1951, 34: "according to the terms on which (the privilege) was granted"; Thompson 1971, 229: "whoever has received maintenance as a gift"; Schöll (1872) read "κατὰ τὰ̣ [δ]εδογμ[ένα," which presupposes a cutting error.

27 Lambert (personal communication): "There is no clear horizontal on the Λ and nor is the stone specially worn at the bottom of this stoichos. In fact the whole stoichos is well preserved and the two diagonal strokes are quite clear. [δ]ε̣δ̣ομ is possible, but Attic gamma is an easier reading for the third letter, and [λ]ε̣γ̣ομ also seems a little better in context."

28 Hdt. 6.53: "This is what only the Lakedaimonians say, but I write the following κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα among the Greeks." Hdt. 7.20: "[The army marshalled by Xerxes was larger than any other before, also larger than the troops] the Atreidai brought together κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα to Troy." Pl. *Ap*. 40c: "[The state of death is either nothingness, so that the dead are not conscious of anything, or] it is κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα some sort of change or migration of the soul from this place to another."

To return to the second category of invitees, descendants of the Tyrannicides, there is an extensive supplement in line 7, which is adopted by Jameson for the *IG* I^3 edition. However, there is reason to consider Schöll's suggestion, accepted by Ostwald, that the text in this line may have read instead [ἀεὶ *h*ο πρεσβύτατος ἔναι κ]αὶ. This phrase, usually in the dative, is found in several decrees granting *sitêsis* in the fourth century and is reflected in Ps. Plutarch's life of the orator and statesman Lykourgos, where he records the application by Lykourgos's eldest son Lykophron for the honor of *sitêsis* in the Prytaneion (*Vit. dec. or.* 843c):

> ἐφ' οὗ ἔλαβε καὶ σίτησιν ἐν πρυτανείῳ αὐτός τε [καὶ] ὁ Λυκοῦργος καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐκγόνων κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ψήφισμα· ἀποθανόντος δὲ Λυκούργου ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν παίδων Λυκόφρων ἠμφισβήτησε τῆς δωρεᾶς.
>
> After that, Lykourgos himself and the eldest of his descendants were granted *sitêsis* according to the same decree; and after Lykourgos's death the eldest of his children, Lykophron, claimed the grant.

Ps. Plutarch's choice of words seems to closely follow that of the original decree, quoted in *Vit. dec. or.* 852e "and the eldest of Lykourgos's descendants at any time shall be awarded dining rights in the city hall forever" that we may compare with for instance *IG* II^2 510, 1–3 (= *SEG* 30.98, with the revision by Henry 1983):

> [- - - εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ σίτησιν ἐ]ν πρυ[τα]-
> [νείωι καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνων ἀεὶ] τῶι πρεσ-
> [βυτάτωι, καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν πᾶσ]ι τοῖς ἀγῶσ-
> [ιν οἷς ἡ πόλις τίθησιν etc.[29]

The restriction to the eldest son is of special interest, because the privileging of primogeniture is unparalleled as a principle of inheritance in Archaic and Classical Athens and occurs only in these grants of *sitêsis*. Normally, partible inheritance obtained in Athens, as elsewhere in Greece, and the equal parts were assigned to the heirs (in reality or notionally) by lot. This principle applied as well to the distribution of immaterial goods, such as one's family ties with the gods and the eligibility for hereditary priesthood among the Athenain *genê*.[30]

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29 Quote from Ps. Plutarch 852e from *AIO*, *IG* II^2 457 and 3207; the same clauses in *IG* II^2 385 lines 16–17 (partly restored); 450, b. lines 6–7; etc.

30 For this system of inheritance and its effects among the *genê*, see Blok and Lambert 2009; and in Greek poleis more widely, Blok 2013, with further references.

Assigning the honor of *sitêsis* as an inherited good explicitly to the eldest son alone is therefore a regulation that is as exceptional to the normal rules of inheritance as it is unique among distribution of honors in Athens. To arrive at an account of the *genesis* of this regulation, we turn to the historical context of the Prytaneion decree. Roughly three generations after the death of Hipparchos, it may well have been necessary to limit the number of people who could claim the privilege to dine in the Prytaneion on the basis of descent through sons and daughters from the Tyrannicides. When Demos makes a sarcastic remark to the sausage seller (Ar. *Eq.* 786)—"Who are you, my man? Not one of those descendants of Harmodios, are you?"—the implication seems to be that the offspring of Harmodios was beginning to expand into a group too large for any individual in it to be recognized other than 'presumably one of that lot.' Apparently, the polis did not leave it to the descendants themselves to choose (notably by lot, since it concerned an inheritance) who among them was to enjoy the privilege, but decided on the eldest son and his descendants. Why this choice was made is not clear, but it may tentatively be explained by the Athenian convention of naming the eldest son after the paternal grandfather with the name-stem of the patrilinear line, thus keeping a memory to the original benefactor and beneficiary.

Lines 7–9: [ἀεὶ *h*ο πρεσβύτατος, ἐ͂ναι κ]αι αὐτοῖσι τὲν σίτ̣[ε]σι̣[ν κ]α̣[ὶ] ε[ἴ] / [....... 15 .... σίτεσι]ν παρὰ Ἀθεναίον κατὰ τὰ̣ [λ]εγομ/ [ένα ....] are too lacunose to allow any real conclusion; perhaps they contained a clause introduced with "all those who ..." If the main thrust of the paragraph is indeed restrictive, these lines could conceivably record the concession that all descendants of Harmodios and Aristogeiton who currently already enjoy the privilege are to retain it.[31]

Category 3 (Lines 9–11)

. . . . 17 . . . .]ν *h*ο Ἀπόλλον ἀν*h*ε͂λ[εν] ἐ[χ]σεγο̣με-
[νος . . . . 18 . . . .]ς σί̣τεσιν καὶ τὸ λ[οι]πὸν *h*ὸ[ς] ἂν̣
[ἀν*h*έλει, σίτεσιν ἐ͂ναι καὶ] α̣ὐτοῖσι κατὰ ταὐτά.

9 εἶτα ἐχσεγετάς, *h*ὸς νῦ]ν Wade-Gery (... *h*ὸς ἂ]ν Schöll, aliter alii)

31 The introductory phrase εἴ τινες "all those who ..." (Oliver 1954, 170; cf. Thuc. 6.20.2) implies a definite group rather than a hypothetical, open set. Since this restoration is highly conjectural, however, we leave this space open in our text of the decree.

Concerning the third category, all that can be said with certainty is that their identity depends on selection by Apollo (line 9) and that their claim to *sitêsis* is based on the same authority as the previous group, i.e., a communal oral decision transmitted orally. At line 10, a new phrase is introduced that recurs later on in the decree: τό λοῖπον (in the future). From the parallel in line 17, the following reading of lines 10–11 seems secure: καὶ τὸ λ[οι]πὸν *h*ὸ[ς] ἂν/ [ἀν*h*έλει ("… and whomever [Apollo] shall choose in the future …"). That is to say, not just the individuals who at this moment fall into category three—those chosen by Apollo—are eligible to dine in the Prytaneion, but also whomever Apollo may choose in the future. Scholarly discussion of their identity has centered for long on the possibility that *exêgêtai* are meant here—a select group of Athenians chosen by Apollo to explain his oracles.[32] But this inscription would be the sole evidence for the existence of a board of *exêgêtai* at this period, with only a textual parallel in Plato's *Laws* to place them here (*Leg.* 865d): … τούτων δ' ἐξηγητὰς εἶναι κυρίους οὓς ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἀνέλῃ.

An alternative was put forward by Humphreys, who notes that Lykourgos mentions that the Athenians granted permanent *sitêsis* to descendants of the Delphian Kleomantis (*Against Leocrates* 87):

> τῷ δὲ Κλεομάντει τῷ Δελφῷ ἡ πόλις αὐτῷ τε καὶ ἐκγόνοις ἐν πρυτανείῳ ἀίδιον σίτησιν ἔδοσαν.
>
> Athens granted to Kleomantis from Delphi himself and to his descendants perpetual *sitêsis* in the Prytaneion.

Humphreys cautiously suggests the possibility that this grant may be the subject of lines 9–10.[33] The Kleomantis mentioned by Lykourgos figures in an episode in the life—or rather concerning the death—of king Kodros: he was a Delphian (whose name seems a case here either of a 'speaking name' or of hieronymy) who told the Athenians of an oracle given to the Spartans that they could take Athens if only they did not kill the king. By a ruse, Kodros had himself killed by the Spartans, who then realized they would never take the city and returned home, upon which the Athenians granted *sitêsis* to Kleomantis and his descendants.[34]

32 See esp. Bloch 1953; Oliver 1954.

33 Humphreys 2004, 104 n. 65.

34 Lykourg. *Leoc.* 84–87.

This reading fits the idea of a grant *kata la legomena* to someone chosen by Apollo quite nicely, but nonetheless some problems remain. Lykourgos's speech is the earliest attestation of this story, and we know nothing about claims to *sitêsis* of Kleomantis or his descendants around the time of our decree. It seems problematic if in our decree the descendants of Kleomantis were honored on a par with, i.e., in a category similar to, those of the Tyrannicides, without any similar restriction. We might conjecture that the missing parts of the decree held a clause in which "whom Apollo has chosen" entailed such a restriction, namely, giving the grant to the one selected by Apollo among the *genos* of Kleomantis to be actually active as a *mantis*, now and in the future. In that case, κατὰ ταὐτά could mean not only the ground on which the grant is given, but also its restriction. Finally, the descendants of a Delphian would be a notable exception to the other, Athenian beneficiaries in the decree, but if Kleomantis was considered to have become an Athenian citizen, his case could provide a precedent for others.

We tentatively suggest that a further clue may be found in Aristophanes's *Peace* of 421, where the protagonist Trygaeus triumphantly tells the seer Hierocles (1084–1085), mimicking his solemn hexameters:

> οὔποτε δειπνήσεις ἔτι τοῦ λοιποῦ 'ν πρυτανείωι
> οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῶι πραχθέντι ποιήσεις ὕστερον οὐδέν.
>
> Nevermore shall you be dining in the Prytaneion in future,
> Nor fashion anymore prophecies after the event.[35]

According to the scholia to these lines, Trygaeus's joke alludes to the seer Lampon, who had received *sitêsis* in the Prytaneion.[36] Aristophanes, like his fellow comedy writers, ridicules the seers, who were widely sought after by the polis and individuals alike in these years, for their tricks but also for their gluttony, and Lampon, being one of the most prominent and influential in Athens, was a likely figure for Aristophanes to highlight and for the scholion to present as a famous case of a seer receiving *sitêsis*.[37] Whether Lampon in fact received *sitêsis* and when this may have happened cannot be established independently from the scholia, nor can we on the current state of our evidence clarify any

35 Ar. *Peace* 1084–1085, trans. J. Henderson (Loeb).

36 Schol. Ar. *Pax* 1084a–b: οὔποτε δειπνήσεις: ὅτι καὶ οἱ χρησμολόγοι μετεῖχον τῆς ἐν πρυτανείῳ σιτήσεως, δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ Λάμπωνος, ὃς τούτου ἠξίωτο. φησὶν οὖν· οὐκέτι ἔσται πόλεμος. τούτου γὰρ μὴ ὄντος οὐδὲν ἐλάμβανεν οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ πολέμου χρεία τῶν μάντεων.

37 Lateiner 1993, esp. 188–191. Lampon was still active in the 410s (Ar. *Birds* 521).

connection between Lampon and the *genos* of Kleomantis. Yet with our proposed date for the Prytaneion decree in the early 420s, it would seem fitting that the polis institutionalized the gift of honor to *manteis*, who in time of war were considered invaluable for the fate of the city.[38]

Although the condition of these lines does not permit us to say with any confidence who were to be selected by Apollo and honored with *sitêsis*, we submit that category three possibly offered *sitêsis* to *manteis*, a grant based on an oral commitment to this group and probably liable to restrictions included in this oral account, all of which was also to be in force in the future. With this phrase, τό λοῖπον, the existing practice is institutionalized by creating an abstract principle for eligibility. The use of the phrase in context is clearer in the next section.

Category 4 (Lines 11–18)

κα[ὶ *h*οπόσ]-
[οι νενικέκασι Ὀλυμπίασι] ἒ Πυθο||ῖ ἒ *h*ισθμοῖ|| ἒ Ν̣||εμέ||[αι ἒ νικ]-
[έσοσι τὸ λοιπόν, ἐ͂ναι αὐτ]ο̣ῖσι τὲν σίτεσιν ἐν πρυτανε[ίο]-
[ι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας δορειὰς π]ρὸς τε͂ι σιτέσει κατὰ τὰ [ἐν τ]ε͂[ι σ]-
[τέλει γεγραμμένα τε͂ι ἐ]ν̣ τ̣ο͂ι πρυτανείο̣ι. *h*ο[π]όσο̣[ι δὲ *h*άρ]-
[ματι τελείοι ἒ *h*ίπποι κ]έλετι νενι[κ]έκασι Ὀ̣[λ]υμπ̣[ίασι ἒ Π]-
[υθοῖ ἒ *h*ισθμοῖ ἒ Νεμέαι ἒ] νικέσοσι τὸ λοιπό[ν], ἐ͂να̣ι [καὶ αὐ]-
[τοῖσι σίτεσιν κατὰ τὰ ἐν τ]ε͂ι στέλε[ι] γεγραμ[μ]ένα̣

The fourth section, which in *IG* is heavily but largely plausibly restored, is concerned with panhellenic victors of two types: a) panhellenic victors and b) panhellenic victors in the chariot or horse race. Both types are described in our decree, although type a would by definition also include type b, because it seems that for each there existed an inscribed decree (or parts of a single decree), at least one of which was held in the Prytaneion. Perhaps the original decree held different provisions for each group, or other differences obtained; on the clauses given here, these provisions would still be valid even if now both groups were combined into the new decree.

38 Osborne 1981b, 159 n. 18 mentions Lampon as a case of *sitêsis ex officio*, but takes him to antedate the Prytaneion decree. It is notable that the *mantis* Sthorys of Thasos received for his longstanding goodwill toward the people of Athens and notably for his prophecies from sacrifices at the battle of Knidos citizenship and invitations to a *deipnon* for himself and his descendants, but not *sitêsis* (394/3; *IG* II^2 17 + *SEG* 15.84 + *SEG* 16.42; Osborne 1981a, D8).

The phrase τό λοῖπον occurs twice, once fully restored and once clearly legible (lines 13 and 17). But while its usage is consistent throughout our decree, it differs from that in other decrees, as analyzed by Harris.[39] In this inscription, the phrase is used to anticipate that new individuals may come to qualify for *sitêsis* in the Prytaneion on a given ground. This idiosyncratic usage of *to loipon* looks like a search for language to record the intent to establish an abstract institution. It emphasizes that the privilege is not restricted to the specific individuals who enjoy it at the time the decree is passed, but that it extends to hypothetical future individuals. Perhaps, then, the decree was partly motivated by a contemporary perception that the practice of communal dining at the Prytaneion was bound (too strongly) to specific individuals. We would like to build upon this observation for the interpretation of both category one and five, and next for the decree as a whole.

We return to category one first. Categories two through four all address how future individuals may qualify under a specific heading. In category two, it is through descent from the Tyrannicides, in category three through Apollo's choice, and in category four through a panhellenic victory. The impulse to regulate qualification and to display the commitment of the polis to the continuity of the practice is a central concern throughout; and yet there is no place for a similar provision in the first category. One plausible explanation is that the individuals in this category are a constant presence—that is, not a group of mortals that may be supplemented or replaced by other individuals, but heroes or gods who will be able to enjoy the privilege indefinitely, and thus will never cede their place to others.

It should be noted that these first invitees require much less introduction than any of the others: they are identified in a remarkably concise clause, taking up only half as much space as those identifying the three other groups for which a count can be made with reasonable certainty (23 characters versus 53, 45–60, and 44). This ease of reference, like the structuring of the text into two unequal parts (see above), suggests that this is a core category whose eligibility precedes that of any of the other invitees.

A further clue to their identity may be found in the reference to *aporrheta* in the Prytaneion at Ar. *Eq*. 283:

> Νὴ Δί, ἐξάγων γε τἀπόρρηθ, ἅμ ἄρτον καὶ κρέας
> καὶ τέμαχος, οὗ Περικλέης οὐκ ἠξιώθη πώποτε.

39 Harris 2002, 2: "the phrase *to loipon* meant that the provisions would not apply before the date the measure was passed."

> That's right—and taking the *aporrheta* out with him, bread and meat together with a slice of fish, which Perikles was never in his life thought to deserve.

Aporrheta (I. forbidden, II. not to be spoken, secret, 2. *of sacred things* ineffable, secret: LSJ[9] s.v.) is a remarkable word choice. It often has religious overtones, and may even evoke an association with the Eleusinian Mysteries. In this context of Aristophanic comedy it seems to be used to poke fun at the overblown solemnity in which the occasion of dining at the Prytaneion is shrouded by the lucky in-crowd; and perhaps there is an implied pretense of mistaking the food at these daily meals for Eleusinian *aporrheta*. This implication could be facilitated by association with a *theoxenia* at the Prytaneion: if the Anakes, who at some point were known as initiates of the Mysteries, were invited there as the episode from the *Beggars* tells us, some food would have been set aside for them that was to be left untouched by the other guests. Especially suggestive concerning the possibility that they were invited to a daily meal at the Prytaneion is the early iconographic evidence for their connection with Theseus, to whom the institution of the Athenian Prytaneion was ascribed.[40]

As noted above, the newly proposed location of the Prytaneion is here directly relevant for our interpretation. In accordance with Pausanias's description of Athens,[41] both Schmalz and Kavvadias note the close proximity of the Prytaneion to the Anakeion. Shapiro shows (on the basis of iconographic and archaeological material, in combination with passages from Herodotos, Pausanias, and Plutarch) that Athenian interest in the cult of the Anakes can be traced back to the Archaic age, following naturally from the gradual emergence of the Dioskouroi as panhellenic demigods rather than local Spartan

40 Theseus's founding of the Prytaneion: Plut. *Thes*. 24.3. For the relationship between the Anakes and Theseus, see Plut. *Thes*. 31–33. Although the Dioskouroi entered Attika as enemies, to rescue their sister Helen whom Theseus had abducted and brought to his mother at Aphidna, they were received hospitably as benefactors and saviors by the Athenians on the initiative of Menestheus. Adopted by Theseus's friend Aphidnos, they were initiated in the Eleusinian Mysteries on their own request, following the example of Herakles, and received divine honors as the Anakes at Athens.

41 Pausanias 1.18: ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν Διοσκούρων τὸ ἱερὸν Ἀγλαύρου τέμενός ἐστιν … πλησίον δὲ πρυτανεῖόν ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ νόμοι τε οἱ Σόλωνός εἰσι γεγραμμένοι καὶ θεῶν Εἰρήνης ἀγάλματα κεῖται καὶ Ἑστίας ("Above the sanctuary of the Dioskouroi lies the cult site of Aglauros … nearby is the Prytaneion, where Solon's laws are written up and where stand the statues of the goddesses Peace and Hestia.").

heroes.[42] They were honored at Athens with a festival, the Anakeia, the origins of which are unfortunately unknown.[43] A decree in their temple, according to Athenaeus 6. 235b, regulated the distribution of sacrificial meat, a part of which was to go to the festival, a part to the priest, and a part to their *parasitoi*; their cult apparently included communal dining. As Shapiro argues, the outbreak of the war with Sparta in 431 may have encouraged a renewed effort to make the Anakes at home in Athens.[44] They were widely venerated as saviors, especially at sea; when appearing in the final scene of Euripides's *Electra* (probably of the 420s) to solve the terrible problem of Orestes's and Electra's fate, they just calmed a ship-threatening tempest (l. 1241–1242). For the Athenian navy, the Anakes were therefore of great significance and a decree of (probably) around the early years of the war, rather close to the Prytaneion decree, levies a tax on seafarers to support their cult.[45]

Category 5 (Lines 18–21)

Ẹ[. . 5 . .]
[. . . . . 22 . . . .]ι̣ περὶ τὸ στρα̣τ̣[έγιον . . 6 . . .]
[. . . . . 23 . . . .] ΔΟ̣ΡΕ[.]ΑṆΚ̣ [. . 14 . . . . . .]
[. . . . . 24 . . . .]ṆΛ̣Ε[. . . . . 18 . . . .]

19 περὶ τô στρατ[εγô Osborne || 20 δορειὰν κ[Oliver; Osborne.

The last part of the inscription is badly damaged. The current restoration in line 19 in *IG*—περὶ τὸ στρα̣τ̣[έγιον—is not an obvious solution in this context; we would therefore suggest to abandon it. Osborne's restoration περὶ τô στρατ[εγô makes more sense, and so does περὶ τô στρα̣τ̣[οπεδô, as Stephen Lambert tenta-

42 Shapiro 1999.

43 A decree of the deme Plotheia of the 420s set aside money to provide interest for contributions to the Anakeia (*IG* I³ 248, line 6), but it is not known if this was a local version of the festival or one at polis level.

44 Shapiro 1999, 99–100.

45 *IG* I³ 133. The fragmentary decree is difficult to date but must postdate the 'Kallias A' decree (*IG* I³ 52A; dated by scholars variously to 434 or 432 or 431/0) because in *IG* I³ 133 line 14 the *tamiai* of the Other Gods, instituted in 'Kallias A,' are responsible for the fund of the Anakes. A bronze spear butt, taken from Lesbos when the Athenians subdued a revolt of the island in 428/7, was dedicated by the Athenians to the Dioskouroi; Camp 1986, 88, ill. 65.

tively suggests, but it is impossible to restore it with confidence.[46] The reading of δορειὰν in line 20 by Oliver and Osborne seems plausible and would fit a fifth category of invitees for which there is room here in the decree. It is uncertain, however, if this restoration fits the traces on the stone.[47] Nonetheless, although we cannot be sure that that is what this part of the text contained, several considerations make a further category of invitees here quite likely. *Stratêgoi* did not fit any of the previous categories of possible recipients, so the rubric under which Kleon received his grant must have been added to the existing categories at some point. The preoccupation with *sitêsis* for generals in Aristophanes's *Knights* suggests that at this time the option by which victorious generals could receive this grant was relatively new.[48] The conjecture that the Prytaneion decree introduced this option may find further support in the historical circumstances. With the majority of the Athenians now packed within the space between the Long Walls and the pressure of the extensive war felt day after day, it would be appropriate to award honors to those who gained significant successes for Athens in the war. At the same time, the food shortage hovering over the city would help to explain why in *Knights* such conspicuous attention is being paid to the merit (or lack thereof) of those citizens honored with permanent sustenance in the Prytaneion. But how was the class of people of category five defined?

From the available evidence, we can deduce that *sitêsis* could be granted to categories of persons, and that for each individual grant a decree of the people was required. Beneficiaries receiving *sitêsis* before the end of the fourth

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46 S.D. Lambert, *per ep*. Honors for doing well to the Athenian *stratopedon* in wartime were granted to a certain Archelas (a non-Athenian) in *IG* I³ 117 (407/6) line 29.

47 Jameson in *IG* mentions that in line 20 after ΔΟ̣PE the remnants of H rather than I are visible.

48 Esp. Ar. *Eq*. 574–578: Καὶ στρατηγὸς οὐδ' ἂν εἷς | τῶν πρὸ τοῦ σίτησιν ᾔτησ' ἐρόμενος Κλεαίνετον· | νῦν δ' ἐὰν μὴ προεδρίαν φέρωσι καὶ τὰ σιτία, | οὐ μαχεῖσθαί φασιν. Ἡμεῖς δ' ἀξιοῦμεν τῇ πόλει | προῖκα γενναίως ἀμύνειν καὶ θεοῖς ἐγχωρίοις. ("And there's not one general of the former generation that would have applied to Kleainetos with a request for state maintenance; whereas now, if they aren't given privileged seating as well as the food, they say they won't fight."). Aristophanes alludes to both *sitêsis* and *prohedria*, front-row seating at the Dionysia, in one breath, and the two are associated throughout his play. It is possible that the Prytaneion decree provided for *prohedria* as well (Osborne 1981b, 168), but in the lines dealing with the categories two and three there seems to be no room to add provisions for *prohedria*, while only in category four τὰς ἄλλας δορειὰς may be restored for the first group of panhellenic victors, gifts of honor which probably included *prohedria*. So either this provision was added to the category to which *strategoi* belonged in the part of the decree now lost, or it was added to *sitêsis* soon after the Prytaneion decree.

century, when the categories of possible beneficiaries and the reasons for granting the honors were slightly revised, were Kleon of Kydathenaion (425/4), Iphikrates of Rhamnous (371/0), Diphilos of Sounion (?; 330s), and Demades of Paiania (ca. 335).[49] Kleon and Iphikrates appear to have received this honor for their success as generals, but that could not be the case for Diphilos and Demades. Apparently eligible for the gift of *sitêsis* in this category were citizens who showed heroic or inspired leadership, a category for which *stratêgoi*, but also other exceptional leaders, could qualify. In the course of the fourth century, as Osborne has shown, *sitêsis* for recipients of this category was always combined with *prohedria* and the honor was always extended to the eldest descendant.[50] The gift of *sitêsis* to citizens resembled the honors for Harmodios and Aristogeiton, and emulation of the Tyrannicides as models of civic virtue may have been at play in the conception in this category of recipients, even if no one would ever equal them.[51]

Conclusion

The so-called Prytaneion decree (*IG* I³ 131) regulated eligibility for the honor of *sitêsis*, lifelong sustenance at the Prytaneion at Athens. The decree was probably passed in the early 420s, but it institutionalized an existing practice that seems to have developed over a long period of time, at least since the sixth century. Dining in the Prytaneion, at the hearth of the polis, was an honor the polis bestowed fairly regularly on prominent visitors. By inviting these guests to dinner at this place, the polis displayed a ritual hospitality which festively included non-Athenians into the community of the polis for the time of their

49 Iphikrates: Dem. 23.130; Schol. Dem. 21.62; [Lysias] fr. 7 (Budé); for the date cf. Davies 1971, 477. Diphilos: Din. 1.43; Dion. Hal. 11. Demades: Din. 1.01. Lykourgos of Boutadai received the honor (posthumously) 307/6: [Plut.] Mor. 851; *IG* II² 457, on which see Lambert 2015. For all references, see Osborne 1981b. The suggestion of Azoulay 2014, 133 that Kleon's grant was also due to his ties by marriage to the family of Harmodios cannot be right in the legal sense, because in-laws did not belong to the category of descendants.

50 Osborne 1981b.

51 Citizens honored with the offer to erect a statue were given license to put the statue anywhere they liked in the Agora, but a law prohibited them doing so next to the statue of the Tyrannicides ([Plut.] 852e, on the statue for Lykourgos; cf. Dem. 20.69, on the decree for Konon with these honors), marking the latter as a category of their own. For the Tyrannicides as models of civic virtue and especially of their statue for the conferment of public honors in the fourth century, see Azoulay 2014, 125–153.

stay in Athens. Besides such invitations for incidental occasions, dining at the Prytaneion could be extended into *sitêsis*, an honor the polis granted to individuals of exceptional value to the polis, notably Athenian citizens. Both practices show that dinner at the Prytaneion was a crucial institution of the polis to demonstrate how it valued its invitees, both citizens and noncitizens, to express its *charis* for their contribution by hospitality, offering food at this special place and in the company of the other honored diners, and to maintain these relationships of reciprocity between host (polis) and guests.[52] For the citizens of Athens, *sitêsis*, one of the 'great honors,' was of diacritical significance within the polis, as it visibly valued particular Athenians above the others. It was this grant of lifelong sustenance at the Prytaneion that was the concern of this decree, as it meant to regulate for the present and the future which persons were entitled to this honor. Because the institution had existed for quite a long time, some of its accrued practices were felt to be in need of reconsideration. The sections of the decree address a variety of concerns, notably the criteria on which individuals were to be honored with *sitêsis*, from which we may infer some of the values and motives underlying selection for it.

We have suggested that the proposal may have begun with a reconfirmation of a permanent offer of hospitality to the Anakes. To declare in a monumental, high-quality inscription the Athenians' commitment to ensuring the continuity of this practice would be an appropriate effort to optimize the polis's bond with the gods during the war with Sparta. This feature further suggests a common concern in all categories: to varying degrees, each category can claim proximity to the divine, and the individuals belonging to it have either distinguished themselves as being able to enlist divine support for Athens, or are direct descendants of individuals who have. We may recall here that success in war was considered dependent on the favor of the gods, with some regard for the ability of the military leaders themselves.

Some innovations on existing practices seem to have been added throughout. The decree confirmed the grant of *sitêsis*, made on oral communal decision and anchored in oral tradition, to the descendants of the Tyrannicides, but now restricted the beneficiaries to the eldest sons. Oral commitment also confirmed a group who may be identified as *manteis* as possible recipients of the grant, with a provision for new candidates in the future. *Sitêsis* for panhellenic victors went back on previous decrees, and now was confirmed with, again, a provision

52 For the role of institutions in the cycle of reciprocity, value and honors between the polis, citizens and noncitizens, see Blok 2017, 187–231.

for the future. And if indeed the decree allowed *sitêsis* to citizens who significantly contributed to the welfare and safety of the city, such provision must have been new.

In later sources, we do not hear of any grants of *sitêsis* made to *manteis* or to similar figures (*exêgêtai*, for instance), but instead the category of military and political leaders seems to grow in prominence. Although the disparate nature of our evidence makes strong claims impossible, it would seem that in the fourth century the Athenian people did not confer the greatest honors to *manteis* or others for the welfare of the *polis*, unlike at the time of the Peloponnesian War. This change in the effective grants of *sitêsis* (if our reading is valid) may point to a shift in the trust of the people from one category of persons to another. It may equally represent a change in the politics of granting honor toward a mutual favoring, namely, competition among prominent leaders, an impression that the speeches on this score of Demosthenes, Aeschines, Deinarchus, and others make difficult to resist.

We have argued that a restrictive intent may be discerned in category two: it seems probable that our decree institutes for the first time the principle that the right to *sitêsis* was to be inherited through and to eldest sons, rather than through all sons and daughters. This measure was possibly motivated by a practical need to restrict the number of descendants of the Tyrannicides that were welcome in the Prytaneion. Once included in the Prytaneion decree, the restriction to eldest sons became a standard feature of grants of *sitêsis*. Thereafter, *sitêsis* was typically awarded to a beneficiary (primarily of category five) and his descendants for whom the civic virtue of the Tyrannicides had come to serve as a model.

The most remarkable aspects of the decree are perhaps how it records the process of turning a traditional honorific practice into a formal, abstract institution and how it establishes the legal basis for doing so, moving from oral to written authority for polis decisions. The practice of *sitêsis* is to be continued with the individuals participating in it now, but care is taken to make explicit the basis for their claim to this privilege, and to clarify the rights of hypothetical future individuals with similar claims. At the time of our decree, *nomoi* and *psêphismata* were not yet formally distinguished at Athens, but here we see a remarkable instance of precisely that intention: a basic legal structure is laid out, based on carefully distinguished forms of authority in the polis (ranging from ancestral custom to commitment by oral tradition to inscribed decisions), to be implemented for individual cases with additional decrees. If our reconstruction of its date and contents is defensible, the Prytaneion decree seems both a cogent response to the conditions of the war to support the safety of the city by honoring protective heroes and those who enjoy favor with the divine,

and an impressive document of the autonomous institutional development of democratic Athens, reconfiguring its politics of hospitality at the dinner table of the polis.

Appendix: Translation of *IG* I^3 131

X was secretary

The council and the people decided; Erechtheis was in prytany;
X was secretary; ...thippos was chairman; ...ikles pro-
posed: let there be *sitêsis* in the Prytaneion first of all for the
Anakes [...] in accordance with ancestral tradition. Furthermore, for those (descendants) of
Harmodios and Aristogeiton who are nearest in kin,
always the eldest son, let there be *sitêsis* both for them and if
[...] *sitêsis* from the Athenians, in accordance with our oral commitment.
[...] whom Apollo has chosen expoun-
ding [...] *sitêsis*, and in the future all those who he may
choose, also for them let there be *sitêsis*, on the same basis. And all
who have won a victory at the Olympic games or the Pythian games or the Isthmian games or the Nemean games or
all who will do so in the future, for them let there be *sitêsis* in the Prytaneion and the other gifts beside the *sitêsis* in accordance with the inscribed
decree in the Prytaneion. And all who have won a victory with a chariot drawn by
horses or with a riding horse at the Olympic games or the Pythian games
or the Isthmian games or the Nemean games or all who will do so in the future, also for them let there be *sitêsis* in accordance with the inscribed decree. [...]
[...] concerning the military
[...] gift (?) [...]
[...]

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CHAPTER 8

Measure for Measure: Fifth-Century Public Dining at the Tholos in Athens

Ann Steiner

The Agora was the locus of civic and economic life in ancient Athens, and it was also the site of a great variety of shared meals. Literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence confirms that Athenians ate and drank at festivals, in private houses, and, for some public officials, in the buildings designed and built for that purpose. In one spot in particular, we know exactly who ate there—the round building identified as the Tholos, which served as the place where the group of Athenian officials who were chairmen of the Council, the *prytaneis*, joined together as a group to eat and drink.[1]

This lucky circumstance, that we know both dining room and diners, gives us a case study where we can examine how communal eating at the Tholos was "instrumental in the creation, transformation, and resilience of the polis institutions" that undergirded the fifth-century democratic government.[2] In particular, here we explore if and how the principle of *isonomia*, newly articulated through the reforms of Ephialtes in 462/1, was expressed through eating practices at the Tholos.

Although the Tholos was fully excavated by the American School of Classical Studies in the 1930s, the presentation of ceramic evidence was abbreviated in the final publication. Homer Thompson documented a few pieces of pottery from three key deposits, with the clearly articulated plan to commission a full study later.[3] The material presented here focuses on a new project, undertaken in 2013, to consider in detail that ceramic evidence from the Tholos. The full publication of the Tholos pottery will focus on the three key deposits from the building, but here we look closely at the earliest, G 12:22 (fig. 8.1).[4]

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1 Thompson 1940 is the full publication of the excavations of the Tholos.

2 The call for the conference included the quoted phrase. I would like to thank its organizers for their confidence in my project and for inviting its first dissemination here. I appreciate the many excellent suggestions the editors made to improve this paper.

3 Thompson 1940, 126–135.

4 I would like to thank John Camp, Director of the Agora Excavations, for his permission to study this material, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and Franklin & Marshall

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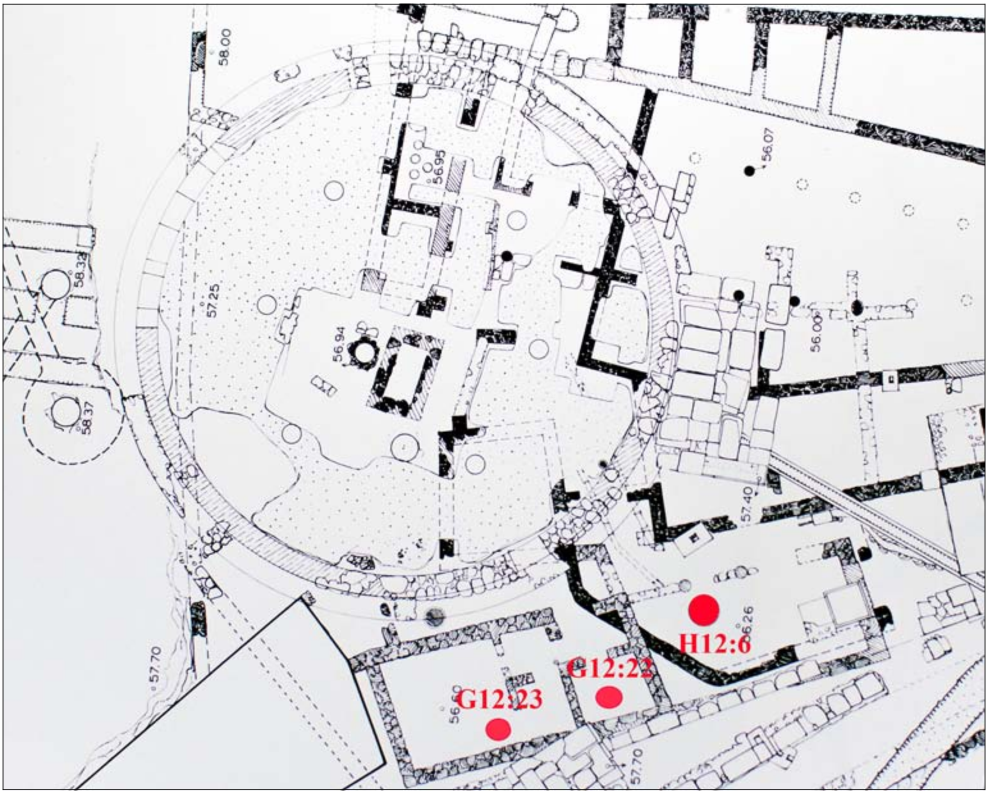

FIGURE 8.1 *Tholos. State plan*
COURTESY AGORA EXCAVATIONS

One clear benefit of carrying out this project more than 75 years after the building's excavation is that the work of others has helped to create crucial comparanda to cast Tholos evidence for communal dining into relief. In addition to the indispensable *Agora* XII by Sparkes and Talcott, the full publication of Agora black-gloss and household ware, two other studies focus on specific assemblages for eating and drinking in the fifth-century Agora:[5] Kathleen Lynch's 2011 publication of the contents of well J 2:4 from a private house in the northwest Agora that closed with the clean up after the Persian destruction of

College for enabling me to spend a year in Athens to get the project underway. I am grateful to the Agora staff, Jan Jordan, Sylvie Dumont, Pia Kvarnström, Maria Tzitziou, Bruce Hartzler, and Craig Mauzy, for their help and collegiality. Advice and guidance from Susan Rotroff and Kathleen Lynch were indispensable.

5 Sparkes and Talcott 1970.

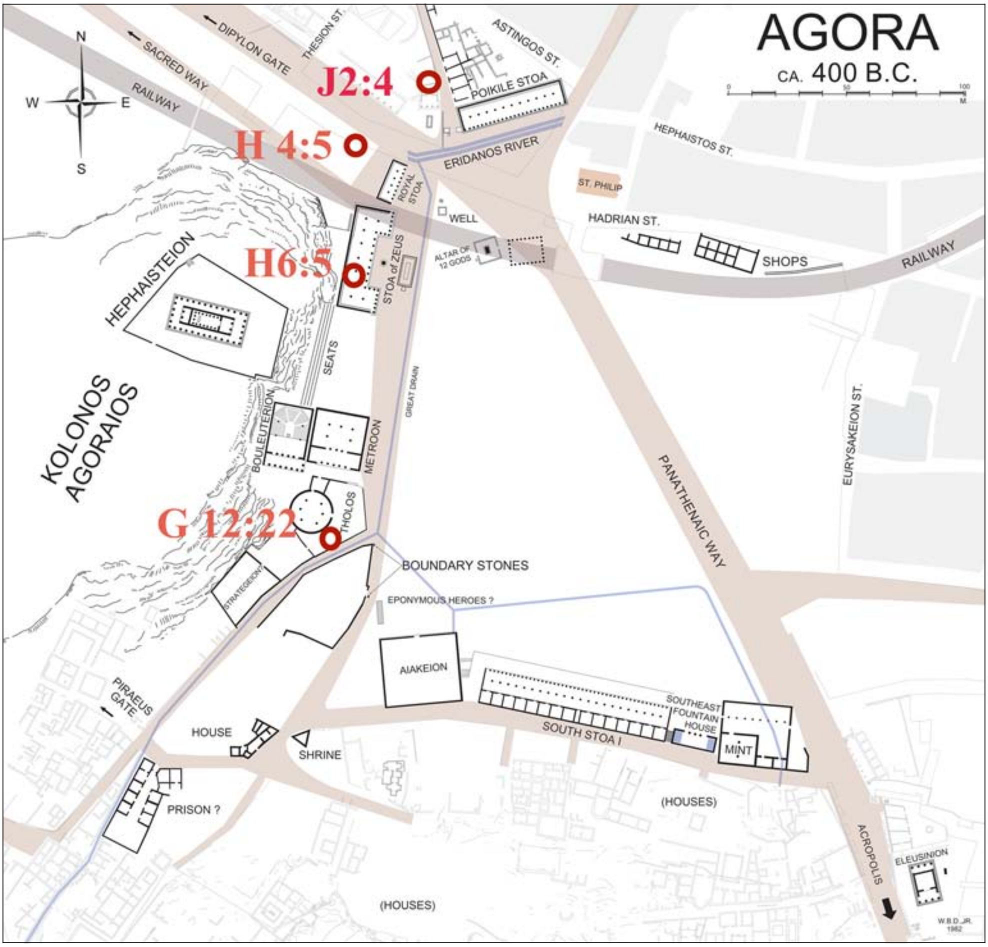

FIGURE 8.2 *Plan of Agora, c. 400 with Deposits* J 2:4, H 4:5, H 6:5, *and* G 12:22 *indicated*
COURTESY AGORA EXCAVATIONS

the site,[6] and Susan Rotroff and John Oakley's 1992 volume on the magistrates' dining place in the northwest corner of the Agora (H 4:5), about 50 meters from the Tholos (fig. 8.2).[7]

My own interest in the evidence for dining in the Tholos grows out of a study I concluded in 2002 on the mores of communal dining in the Agora that followed up on the work of Rotroff and Oakley and their publication of the large deposit of ceramic material, including several pieces marked as pub-

6 Lynch 2011.

7 Rotroff and Oakley 1992.

lic property, from the unidentified public dining facility in the area near the Stoa of Zeus and the Royal Stoa.[8] Although no ancient evidence identifies who dined here, Rotroff and Oakley make an excellent case that it likely served some archons and cavalry officers. In my study that built on their conclusions, a case is made for interpreting the atmosphere at the northwest dining place as replete with sympotic associations, including mockery and self-mockery of the participants, and parodies of democratic institutions, such as ostracism and public inscriptions. This conclusion relied on both the nature of the figural pottery from the relevant deposits as well as several examples of graffiti scratched on the drinking ware.

The current study, whose first results are presented here, aims to carry out a similar analysis of analogous material from the Tholos. After a review of the democratic reforms that lie behind the construction of the Tholos and the archaeological evidence for the building itself, I present below some preliminary results of this study of the ceramic evidence. Finally, I contextualize this newly reassessed evidence in terms of current scholarly discourse on this extraordinary example of polis feasting as an expression of civic values.

Background

When in 1940 Thompson published the excavations carried out in the 1930s, the excavators identified the building immediately because of its unique circular plan which corresponded to many literary references to it as the "round building" or "round-house," for example, in the text of Pausanias.[9] It is useful at the outset to clarify the distinction between the Tholos in the Classical Agora where the *prytaneis* ate, and the Prytaneion, whose location is not firmly identified.[10] The obvious overlap between the name of the building on the one hand and the name of a group of magistrates on the other is to blame for the confusion, and

8 Steiner 2002.

9 Paus. 1.5.1: "Near the council-house of the Five Hundred stands the 'round-house' where the Council sacrifice." Trans. P. Levi, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970.

10 Schmalz 2006 is the most recent attempt to identify the location of the Prytaneion at the eastern end of the Acropolis at a peristyle complex near the modern Plateia Aghia Aikaterini. Rhodes 1981, 105 notes the frequent confusion between the Prytaneion and the Tholos: 3.5 clearly lays out the distinction between Tholos and Prytaneion. See also Miller 1978.

the distinction has been hard to maintain both in ancient and modern times. The Prytaneion housed the ancestral hearth of the city and served as a dining room for individuals hosted by the city *other than* the *prytaneis*, the chairmen of the Council of 500. Schmitt Pantel's discussion of the distinctions between Tholos and Prytaneion serves as a guideline for the many practical and ideological distinctions between the two dining spaces.[11] In contrast to the Prytaneion, where only epigraphical and textual evidence provides explicit information on who ate there and what they ate,[12] the Tholos brings a wealth of archaeological evidence for how and what these public magistrates, the *prytaneis*, consumed; this abundance of material testimony contrasts with the near silence on the subject in preserved texts.

Architecture and Function of the Tholos

The Tholos is a simple round building with an interior diameter of 16.9 m, originally made of three courses of limestone with a mud-brick superstructure covered with stucco (fig. 8.1). The interior colonnade of six columns is arranged in two semicircles; the columns are unfluted, and there are no capitals preserved to confirm their order.[13] The floor was simple: packed earth covered with clay. The decorated tile roof of the Tholos was distinctive and elicited comments in antiquity; its plan was apparently unique for the Agora, where there were no other round buildings. There is no evidence for the original doorway, but a front entrance is restored on the basis of one preserved from later modifications to the building, and a second door is hypothesized at the east, to provide access to the supposed kitchen and to the Bouleuterion. In the first phase of the building, there were apparently no windows, but some were added later.[14] None of the published reconstructed drawings of the Tholos represent this original, windowless state.

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11 Schmitt Pantel 1992, 145–177 discusses at length the practical and theoretical distinctions between the two civic dining places.

12 See Osborne 1983, 153–170, and, most recently, van 't Wout and Blok on *sitêsis* in the Prytaneion in this volume.

13 Meritt 1996, 147, fig. 10, pl. 36 determined that the fragmentary Ionic capital A 933 found in Tholos deposit H 12:6 (Thompson 1940, 58, n. 39) does not belong to the building on the basis of its date and size.

14 The marble string course that preserved cuttings for the placement of a grille to cover the windows dates to the reconstruction of the Tholos after serious damage at the end of the fifth century (Thompson 1940, 50–51).

After completion of the Tholos, a separate structure, identified as a kitchen by the excavators, was added at the north. The identification as a kitchen is a reasonable hypothesis, but the small structure does not preserve positive evidence of that function. The Tholos and its kitchen waere enclosed in an irregular precinct, marked by a low wall that helped unite it with the neighboring Bouleuterion.

We know that a key function of the Tholos was to serve as a dining room from the *Athenaion Politeia* (*Ath. Pol.*) where the author states clearly that the *prytaneis* ate together in the Tholos at state expense.[15] In addition, Demosthenes indicates that the *prytaneis* made sacrifices and poured libations in conjunction with eating, and, according to Prytany decrees from the third and second century, they did so also before meetings of the Assembly, πρὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν.[16] Pausanias states that the *prytaneis* sacrifice in the Tholos.[17] Other than those acts connected with eating, these religious activities need not have taken place inside the Tholos. Homer Thompson identified three different locations outside the building, but within the Tholos precinct, where they may have taken place. He hypothesized that by the fourth century, a square base inside the building could have served as a foundation for a table for the pouring of libations.[18] There is no firm archaeological evidence for either sacrifices or libations.

There is little evidence for what other functions the Tholos served. Stephen G. Miller noted that there is no evidence that the *prytaneis* carried out their daily business in the Tholos, and that there is some suggestion that they worked in dedicated "office space" in the Bouleuterion.[19] We know from a Hellenistic inscription that one of the four official sets of standard weights and measures was to be kept in the Tholos, and there is abundant archaeological evidence for them, beginning in the second quarter of the fifth century: around 70 percent of the total number of fragments of official weights and measures from the Agora comes from the area in and around the Tholos.[20]

15 *Ath. Pol.* 43.3.

16 Dem. 19.190. Prytany decrees such as *IG* II^2 890 and *IG* II^2 977 list divinities to whom the Prytaneis sacrificed: Thompson 1940, 139; Dow 1937, 8.

17 Paus. 1.5.1: καὶ θύουσίτε ἐνταῦθα οἱ πρυτάνεις.

18 Thompson 1940, 140–141; 147.

19 Miller 1978, 59–60, quoting Lys. 8.37, and pointing out that the Thirty Tyrants were the only body explicitly described as working within the Tholos. Cf. Pl. *Ap.* 32 c–d. This comment has received little notice by scholars. Thanks to the editors of this volume who point out that the smaller number of tyrants, that is, 30 rather than 50 *prytaneis*, may have made it possible to conduct business in the Tholos.

20 Thompson 1940, 141; Lang and Crosby 1964, 41.

In sum, we can be quite sure that the *main* purposes for the Tholos were to provide a place for the *prytaneis* to eat together, to shelter the *epistates* and a *trittys* at night who would serve as duty officers for the business of the polis, and to house the official standards for weights and measures.[21]

The Building of the Tholos and the Reforms of Ephialtes

The nature and development of the Athenian democracy in the nearly 50 years between the reforms of Kleisthenes in 508/7 and those of Ephialtes in 462/1 are frustratingly opaque to us, and there are many points that serve to motivate lively debate. Archaeological evidence, however, supports linking the construction of the Tholos to a dramatic historical circumstance: the democratic reforms of Ephialtes. The view of P.J. Rhodes for the development of the Athenian democracy in this period corresponds to the material record from the Tholos. In short, it was necessary to build the Tholos to serve the needs of the *prytaneis*, a body created by the reforms of Ephialtes.[22]

Our primary source for this history of the democracy is the *Athenaion Politeia*.[23] The reforms of Kleisthenes 508/7 created the Council of 500, a body consisting of 50 members from each of 10 newly-created tribes, selected by lot and serving for one year. Council members had to be 30 years of age, in the top three Athenian property classes, and legally able to speak in front of the Assembly. The *Athenaion Politeia* informs us that 501/0 was the first time the bouleutic oath was sworn, so the first meeting of the meeting of the Council is likely to have been that year.[24] The reforms of Ephialtes in 462/1 included the creation of the prytany as a standing committee of the Council, where the 50 Council members from one tribe served as *prytaneis* or chairmen for one-tenth of the bouleutic year, the order determined by lot.[25]

The responsibilities of the *prytaneis* as described in the *Athenaion Politeia* are explicit about the centrality of the shared meal to the accomplishment of their duties: "First, the members of the Council eat together (συσσιτοῦσιν) in the Tholos, having received money (ἀργὺριον) from the polis. Then they convene meetings of the Council …" (43.3). Although the syntax does not confirm

21 *Ath. Pol.* 44. Rhodes 1972, 23–24 reviews the uncertainty about the absolute number included in the *trittys*. It does not appear to be a mathematical third of the *prytaneis*.

22 Rhodes 1972, 19 and n. 1.

23 *Ath. Pol.* 20–25; Rhodes 1981, 240–322.

24 *Ath. Pol.* 22.2; Rhodes 1972, 191–193.

25 Rhodes 1972, 19.

that the eating and meetings had to take place in that order, it is striking that eating together is explicitly specified as part of the position description.[26] The provision for the selection of the chairman or *epistates* of the *prytaneis* and his coterie of a *trittys* of fellow 24-hour duty officers is provocative, because it suggests a second shared meal with a smaller group, selected personally by the chairman and not by lot.[27]

Why this mandate for dining together? There is no explicit evidence stating the purpose of the shared meal, but dining together ought to have created bonds that helped a group, many of whom might be strangers to one another, to come together quickly to work effectively. A mid-fourth-century passage from Demosthenes alludes indirectly to the bonding effect of the shared meals, by stating explicitly that despite making sacrifices and libations and sharing meals, the *prytaneis* are able to maintain their good judgment about the appropriateness and legality of the behavior of their fellow diners.[28] The fact that Demosthenes is compelled to say that those magistrates who dine together do not exempt their fellow diners from charges of malfeasance suggests a general expectation that the bonds created by the shared meal were strong.

We know that the state provided food for the *boule* and others who served the polis at this point in Athenian history. Within a decade or so after the end of the Persian Wars, the polis began to use income from tribute to provide *trophê* for citizens engaged in the business of running and defending the polis, including the members of the *boule* (*Ath. Pol.* 24.2–3).[29]

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26 Rhodes 1981, 520 on *Ath. Pol.* 43.3: "Here we have a clear instance of *A.P.*'s using πρῶτον … ἔπειτα (…) with no temporal implications."

27 Dem. 18.169 refers to this meal when he describes the *prytaneis* jumping up, ἐξαναστάντες, from their dinner to receive the news that Elatea had been taken in 339. Thanks to Marek Wecowski for pointing out to me that these two shared meals in the Tholos may have had quite different conventions of dining and drinking.

28 Dem. 19.190.

29 Later in the century, pay (*misthos*) and maintenance (*sitêsis*) for the *prytaneis* were established. By the fourth century (*Ath. Pol.* 62.2), Council members received five obols a day for service, and the *prytaneis* received an additional obol for meal expenses. Other than the *Ath. Pol.* text, we have no independent verification for the precise dates of the introduction of pay or maintenance; Rhodes cites the only other textual evidence for Council members' receipt of pay as Thuc. 8.70.1, where in 412 the Four Hundred sent the βολευταί of the abolished democracy home, giving them their μισθός until the end of their office year. Rhodes believes that such pay "is likely to have been instituted before rather than after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War" (Rhodes 1981, 691–692 on *Ath. Pol.* 62.2). See also Rhodes 1972, 13, n. 13;14, on the logic that "it should not have been necessary to introduce a salary in war time for an office which conferred exemption from military service

The apparent date of the creation of the prytany system as one of the reforms of Ephialtes and the construction date of the Tholos coincide, so political reforms indirectly required the construction of this dining space for which the polis provided the food.

Considering this evidence for its raison d'être, was there a political message in the round plan of the Tholos? Early scholars thought not, preferring to cite practical necessity or aesthetic preference. Thompson suggests the exigencies of the building site (i.e., "the angle of the ancient roadway"[30]) invited a round building. In *Agora* XIV, Thompson and Wycherley suggest it was simply the choice of the architect: "The circular shape of the Tholos is not a primitive survival but an elegant new form adopted arbitrarily by the architects, one imagines, mainly for aesthetic reasons."[31]

Scholarship since the time of those early judgments addressed the perplexing question of how the *prytaneis* dined in this circular space. At the time of the initial publication and excavation of the Tholos and for 50 years hence, it was inconceivable that the dining in the Tholos took place in any posture other than reclining on a *kline*.[32] Scholars wrestled, therefore, with this question: how does one fit couches for 50 men, plus any functionaries who supported them, into the round space of the Tholos?[33]

From the standard dimensions for dining rooms established through the recovery of many excavated examples, we know that typical dining couches must have been just less than two meters long.[34] With the circumference of the Tholos at 53 m minus a generous five meters for the two reconstructed

on the holder." See also Hansen 1979. More recently, Blok (2015) has argued convincingly that the *misthos* is first attested for the *boule* only in the 420s, citing *IG* I^3 82, a decree on the festival of Hephaistos of 421/0 as well as Thuc. 8.70.1. I am grateful to Josine Blok for sharing her work on this subject with me.

30 Thompson 1940, 44.

31 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 41.

32 For example, Miller 1978, 57: "In any area where dining is known to have taken place, there are to be expected (…) couches upon which diners reclined."

33 Although there is no evidence of such functionaries eating with the *prytaneis* before the fourth century, scholars who have tried to reconstruct the dining arrangements in the Tholos generally take them into consideration, e.g., Miller 1978, 9 and 58. Such functionaries are listed in prytany decrees *IG* II^2 1740 (ca. 400–350); later, by the third century, they appear to have the collective name *aesitoi* (Agora I 1024). See Dow 1937, no. 9 and 22–23 and Meritt and Traill 1974, 7–8, regarding the functionaries listed prior to Agora I 1024 as "*aesitoi*."

34 Bergquist 1990, 39: "the 6.5 m. wall-length of the 11-couch type of dining room (…) corresponds to three couches and one couch-end along the wall."

doorways, no more than 25 couches fit around the circumference of the Tholos.[35] John Travlos created the first well-known reconstruction of the building in use, and it shows members of the *prytaneis* reclining on couches, apparently at work; his plan includes 25 couches.[36] Boersma proposed that the furniture was modular and created a scheme for it that allowed both reclining dining and reconfiguration for work.[37] This reconstruction requires *klinai* to wrap awkwardly around the interior columns, with groupings for varying numbers of diners. Miller reviews the problem and suggests, without enthusiasm, that the couches must have lined the circumference of the room, as first suggested by Travlos, and adds two semicircles of four more at the center of the building; he posits that the *prytaneis* may have eaten in shifts. Both schemes in different ways divide the group into smaller units, which would seem to undermine the intention of the shared meal.

Fred Cooper and Sarah Morris, however, in their 1990 study of round dining spaces, brought a new perspective to this discourse.[38] They collected the substantial evidence, beginning before the Archaic period, for temporary and permanent round dining spaces in public areas, both civic and religious, in mainland Greece, the Islands, and Ionia. This history suggests the circular form of the Tholos, while not common for permanent buildings, was not unparalleled as a space for shared meals. Scholars have welcomed the proposal for seated eating around the circumference of the Tholos, and currently the 'official' Agora comment in the *Site Guide* is to suggest that a bench existed around the circumference, and this bench could accommodate seated diners.[39] From a practical standpoint, the proposal for seated dining works: with a circumference of just about 53 m minus 5 m for two reconstructed doorways, there are 48 m for seating, just under a meter for each of 50 *prytaneis*. If we add some functionaries, and later evidence suggests there were never more than 12 or fewer than 6, there are at least 0.77 m per person. The distance allotted to an individual at a modern dining table is quite comfortable at about 0.65 m. We

35 Thompson 1940, 56, 73, and fig. 56; Miller 1978, 55 and n. 50. Both reconstruct a front door and a side door providing access to the kitchen and the Bouleuterion. Miller (fig. 2) places eight additional couches in semicircles at the center of the building.

36 Thompson 1940, 147: "we could wish for a more precise indication of the seating or lounging scheme." See also Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 41 n. 96; Travlos 1971, 555–561.

37 Boersma 1970, 54–55; 212. Miller 1978, 58, n. 62 does not believe that that the *prytaneis* ever met to carry out business in the Tholos.

38 Cooper and Morris 1990, 66–85. See also Seiler 1986.

39 Camp 2012, 50: "A bench rather than couches seems to be the best solution for the dining issue."

cannot solve this question definitively, but the current model supporting the idea of seated dining, on those occasions where all of the fifty *prytaneis* and perhaps some functionaries ate together, appears to be the most reasonable for the size and shape of the space allotted.[40] For a smaller *tryttis*-only meal, plus a reduced number of functionaries, reclining on couches would be possible.

It is worth remembering that the *external* appearance of the round dining space reflected the interior. Such a round building, created to accommodate shared meals, has the advantage of being explicitly *not* the typical square shape for a dining space where *symposia* took place, and that difference is unmistakable. The round building announces this distinction, unequivocally, from far off. Inside, all diners have equal space. There is no privileged location for host or *symposiarch*, and there are no shadowy corners. The polis serves as host. The commensal group is not a *hetaireia*, but a group of citizens selected by lot for the purpose of carrying out the work of the polis. The considerable trouble it took to create a roofing system for the round building must have been worth the effort to emphasize this point: meals for this group, at public expense, take place in a new, more egalitarian space to make manifest a new, more egalitarian government.

The Ceramic Evidence for Eating and Drinking

What did the *prytaneis* eat in this new space? There is very little evidence to bring to bear on this question other than the vessels used to prepare and serve and a very few pots used for cooking; there are no bones to provide evidence of butchering or broiling.[41] Fortunately, we do have the inventory of drinking and serving ware as well as small fragments of cooking ware to help reconstruct how commensality was organized as the new body occupied its new building.

Of the three key deposits of pottery, all dating within 100 years of the construction of the Tholos and used to reconstruct the building's early chronology, the first, G 12:22, overlaps with the inaugural decade of the new building. The

40 Several members of our conference pointed out that it is not necessary to assume that every one of the *prytaneis* ate at the common mess every day, but it is important to note that there is ample space for them to do so.

41 Although bones were not routinely saved in early Agora excavations, the bones found in the broiling pits, under the kitchen of the Tholos, were stored with other material from the context that predates the construction of the Tholos (Thompson 1940, 25–27). It is possible, therefore, that if bones were excavated they might have been saved.

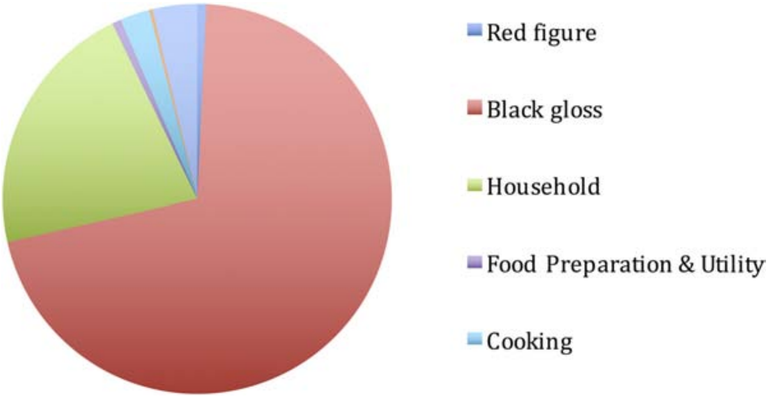

FIGURE 8.3 *Total sherd distribution from Tholos Deposit* G *12:22. Proportions by fabric*

material in this deposit dates to the second quarter of the fifth century, suggesting that it was deposited around mid-century (fig. 8.1).[42] The pit is about a meter in diameter and 0.30 m deep, located in the eastern Tholos precinct.

The deposit contained broken pottery, some blackened by fire. The excavators hypothesized that there had been a small fire in the Tholos or its kitchen storage area very soon after the building was completed, and the deposit is the debris from the cleanup. The deposit cut through the ground level established when the Tholos was built, assuring us that it postdates that event, and the pottery itself gives us a comfortable date around 460–450, with a deposition date around mid-century. The contents very likely represent only a part of the larger repertory of shapes used in the Tholos, as we do not know on what basis excavators selected sherds from all of those excavated to inventory and to save in tins of context pottery.

Most of the deposit consists of fragments of vessels for drinking and serving liquids, and all of it is typical for the second quarter of the fifth century in the Agora. A total of just over 400 fragments of black-gloss, banded ware, partially glazed household ware, and a few fragments of cooking ware are present (figs. 8.3 and 8.4).[43]

42 Thompson 1940, 126–137; the deposits are now designated as deposits G 12:22, H 12:6, and G 12:23. Although the deposits vary in size, all are located to the northeast of the building directly opposite the building identified as the kitchen, and all seem to be the result of destructive events that affected the building to varying degrees.

43 Eight restored shapes were originally published in Thompson 1940, 127–128, figs. 94–95, the initial publication for most of the pottery from the deposit.

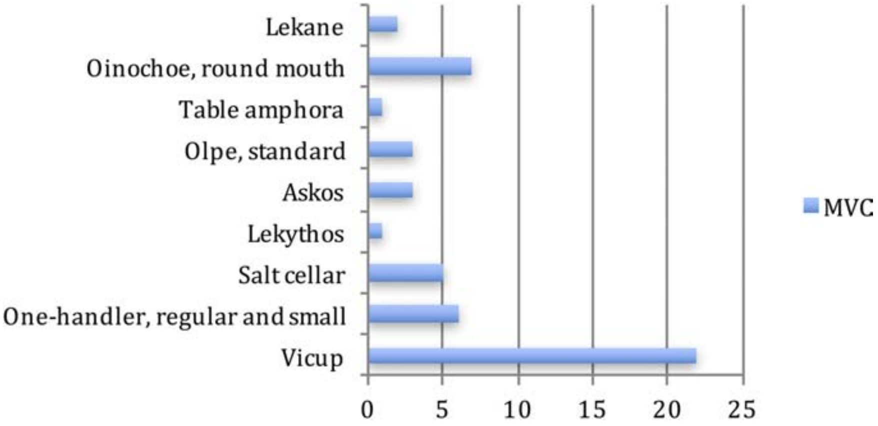

FIGURE 8.4 *Minimum vessel count from Tholos Deposit G 12:22. Number by shape*

The most prominent shape, with a minimum vessel count of 22, is the Vicup, a small black-gloss type C kylix (fig. 8.5).[44] One other shape in the deposit, the black-gloss and banded one-handlers, can be for drinking; there are a minimum of six such vessels, in two sizes (fig. 8.6).[45] Pouring vessels are well represented, with a minimum of seven nearly identical round-mouth oinochoai (fig. 8.7).[46] The standard olpe, a vessel that can be used for pouring oil and other liquids, is present in three examples (fig. 8.8); vessels for storage and dispensing of oil include one large globular Deianeira lekythos (fig. 8.9) and at least three askoi (fig. 8.10).[47] Five echinus and convex wall salt cellars, like oil containers, hold substances that accompany food rather than drink (figs. 8.11).[48] For storing liquid, a single table amphora is preserved.[49] The lekane or semiglazed krater, a

44 Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 92–93. 'Vicup' is Beazley's adaptation of 'Wiener Schalen,' a term coined by Bloesch. The minimum vessel count is achieved by the formula developed by Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 133. Inventoried examples include: P 10812 (Thompson 1940, 126–127, fig. 94; cf. *Agora* XII no. 436); P 10813 (Lang 1976, no. Fa 16, 52, pl. 29); P 10814 (Lang 1976, no. Fa 17, 52, pl. 29); P 10815 (Lang 1976, no. Fa 18, 52, pl. 29). Each of the last three is compared to Sparkes and Talcott 1970, no. 436.

45 Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 124. One-handlers are all-purpose vessels, and were used commonly for eating as well. Inventoried example: P 10817 (Thompson 1940, 126–127, fig. 94e).

46 Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 63. Inventoried example: P 10822 (Thompson 1940, 126–127, fig. 94b).

47 Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 157; 151–152. Inventoried examples: standard olpe P 10819 (Thompson 1940, 127, fig. 94e; cf. *Agora* XII, no. 271); askos P 10818 (Thompson 1940, 126–127, fig. 94f); and globular lekythos P 10820 (*Agora* XII, no. 1103, pl. 38).

48 Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 136–137. Inventoried examples: P 37475; P 37476; P 37477.

49 Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 187–188. Inventoried example: P 10823 (*Agora* XII, no. 1449, fig. 23).

FIGURE 8.5 *Black-gloss Vicup from G12:22. P 10812*
COURTESY AGORA EXCAVATIONS

FIGURE 8.6 *Black-gloss and banded one-handlers from G 12:22. P 10817 and P 10821*
COURTESY AGORA EXCAVATIONS

FIGURE 8.7 *Round-mouth oinochoe.* P 10822
COURTESY AGORA EXCAVATIONS

FIGURE 8.8
Black-gloss standard olpe. P 10819
COURTESY AGORA EXCAVATIONS

FIGURE 8.9 *Black-gloss globular lekythos.* P 10820
COURTESY AGORA EXCAVATIONS

FIGURE 8.10 *Black-gloss askos.* P 10818
COURTESY AGORA EXCAVATIONS

FIGURE 8.11 *Black-gloss salt cellar.* P *37472*
COURTESY AGORA EXCAVATIONS

large all-purpose household bowl, is represented by two substantial fragments, probably not from the same vessel: a rim with an estimated diameter of about 0.34 m and a foot with diameter of about 0.25 m.[50] Sparkes and Talcott noted that while the lekane surely served a variety of household-type needs, it is sometimes represented in images of *symposion*, perhaps as an ancillary mixing bowl such as on a red-figure cup by Makron in New York.[51]

There is a single fragment of red-figure pottery, a Type A kantharos attributed to the Shuvalov Painter depicting the Judgment of Paris and dating to about 470 (fig. 8.12).[52] An estimated diameter for the piece of 0.26 m makes it a large and impressive example of the shape, one unlikely to be used for drinking.

For cooking, just a handful of chytra and eschara fragments, all typical for the period, provide testimony for food preparation.[53] These shapes suggest preparation of grilled meat, soups, and stews. There is one fragment of a water jar or hydria.[54] Finally, the deposit includes a small number of lamps (fig. 8.13).[55]

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50 Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 211, n. 1. Inventoried examples: P 37479; P 37480. P 37478 is a third example.

51 New York, MMA 20.246; *ARV* 2 467.118; Beazley Archive no. 204800. Lissarrague 1990, 21, fig. 9.

52 Agora P 4952, Moore 1997, no. 1226, 296–297. The attribution is by A. Lezzi-Hafter.

53 Eschara P 37482; chytra P 37483.

54 Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 200. Inventoried example: P 37481.

55 Howland 1958, L 3138, Type 22 A, no. 195, 53; L 4771, Type 22B, no. 196, 54.

FIGURE 8.12 *Attic red-figure kantharos.* P 4952
COURTESY AGORA EXCAVATIONS

FIGURE 8.13 *Black-gloss lamp.* L 4771
COURTESY AGORA EXCAVATIONS

We can only guess what was part of the repertory but is missing in the deposit—transport and storage amphoras for wine and, one might guess, more shapes with which to store and cook food and from which to eat it. If there was pottery used exclusively for the consumption of food in the Tholos repertory, it does not appear in the deposit. Nevertheless, this inventory of the deposit G 22:12 tells us that the *prytaneis* could have mixed, served, and drunk wine from this assemblage, could flavor food with spices and oil, and had illumination when they needed it. What more can we learn from this deposit?

Standard Measures?

We return first to the Vicups, the most prominent shape in the deposit. The Vicup appears first in Athens at around 480 and is produced until mid-century; its life is short and consistent, with little variation or development of the shape. Key to this discussion is the fact that three Vicups from G 12:22 carry the *delta/epsilon* ligature, an abbreviation for *demosion* or 'property of the demos' and generally accepted as indicating public ownership (fig. 8.14).[56] This evidence assured the original excavators that the deposit was not merely linked to the Tholos by proximity of findspot, but was likely to represent ceramics actually used for consumption of food and drink in the building.

First, the degree of similarity in size and shape among Vicups is very unusual for Athenian kylikes. Sparkes and Talcott first noted a striking uniformity in the sizes across all known examples of Vicups, leading them to believe that all were products of a single workshop.[57] Rotroff and Oakley observed standardization in the Vicups present in the deposit from the magistrates' dining hall in the northwest Agora, noting two almost identical sizes, grouped by clusters of foot diameters at 0.065 and 0.07 m.[58] The Vicups from Tholos deposit G 12:22 fall into similar, but not identical, size categories; the majority have foot diameters of around 0.06 m.[59] Second, it is interesting to note that figural and non-Vicup black-gloss kylikes of Type C are less standardized, even when grouped into thematic sets based on the subjects they depict. In the capacity studies carried out by Kathleen Lynch on the Agora household well J 2:4, she noted that

56 P 10813, P 10814, P 10815. Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 44 and n. 44 provide an excellent history of the initial discovery that the *delta/epsilon* ligature might indicate public ownership.

57 Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 93.

58 Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 18.

59 The diameters of feet cluster into three groups, with most around 0.06 (13 examples); other examples measure 0.065 (2 examples) and 0.07 m (2 examples).

FIGURE 8.14 *Black-gloss Vicup fragment with delta/epsilon ligature. P 10815*
COURTESY AGORA EXCAVATIONS

figural Type C cups, whether black-gloss or red figure, vary in capacity from 250–750 ml, but with the majority evenly spread from 550–750 ml.[60] Black-gloss Type C cups that are not Vicups have a nearly identical range of capacities from 550–750 ml, and it is worth noting that 200 ml is a substantial difference. The capacity of the single Vicup from G 12:22 that is measurable is around 300 ml, well below that of other examples of Type C cups.[61] The point here is that with a substantial inventory of Vicups at the Tholos, a similar portion is assured for all drinkers. Sparkes and Talcott noted that Vicups connected with the public kitchen reveal that here "the democratic principle was brought to its logical conclusion."[62]

The black-glaze salt cellars also warrant a closer look. As is characteristic of this shape, the five Tholos examples that preserve both foot and rim are almost identical in size, although two discrete shapes are represented. Sparkes and

60 Lynch 2011, 327, Appendix II. The Vicup in well J 2:4 is not well enough preserved to calculate capacity.

61 P 10812. Note that it is restored in plaster, so the measurement is approximate.

62 Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 93.

Talcott suggested that the size and capacity are so consistent for this type of small bowl that it was both a shape and a standard measure, with the ancient name of οξύβαφον, meaning both a vinegar-dip and a capacity of 40 ml.[63] Indeed there are several examples of salt cellars from the area of the Tholos outside of deposit G 12:22 that preserve the *delta/epsilon* graffito.[64] A very fragmentary graffito on the undersurface of one example from G 12:22 could be a portion of a *delta/epsilon*, but such an identification is speculative.

Although it is not possible to compare measurements across a broad group of comparanda, all of the semiglazed oinochoai from G 12:22 have rim diameters of 0.10–0.11 m and are strikingly similar in appearance and size. A uniform size in such jugs would allow consistent proportions in mixing or serving.

Likewise, while we have only three examples from the deposit of another pouring vessel, the standard olpe, they are nearly identical in size. This variety of olpe is well documented as an official standard measure in numerous contexts in the Agora.[65] A closer look at the graffito on the handle of our most complete standard olpe from the Tholos suggests that it is probably a somewhat clumsy *delta/epsilon* ligature, with the middle bar of the *epsilon* only lightly indicated by a chattered stroke (fig. 8.15). Now that we have many more examples of the *delta/epsilon* ligature, thanks to the publication of more than 20 examples from the northwest Agora magistrates' dining place debris (pit H 4:5), it is clear that this Tholos example fits comfortably within the range of precise to very sloppy examples of ligatures in the Agora. In particular, the graffito on the underside of the one-handler P 30001 from pit H 4:5 is quite similar to the Tholos standard olpe in that it is not quite right, with the third stroke of the delta extended unnecessarily.[66]

Scholars have known for some time that the standard olpe is, as its name indicates, a standard measure and holds one kotyle of liquid, that is 270 ml; this newly recognized example is, however, the only documented *black-gloss* standard olpe to carry the *delta/epsilon* ligature. To take this discovery one step further, so that we understand its role in the repertory of Tholos pottery, we can see a relationship between the two shapes unequivocally marked with the

63 Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 132. There are numerous salt cellars with full profiles preserved from one of the later Tholos deposits, H 12:6, and this large sample will allow a capacity study which is already underway.

64 P 10616 and P 5458 are salt cellars of the same types that appear in G 12:22 preserving the *delta/epsilon* ligature; both examples come from the area near the Tholos.

65 Lang and Crosby 1964, 56–58.

66 Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 107, no. 215 (P 30001, pl. 49 and figs. 13 and 21). In the latter example, there is just one extra extension, while the Tholos example has two.

FIGURE 8.15 *Black-gloss standard olpe with delta/epsilon ligature.* P 10819
COURTESY AGORA EXCAVATIONS

ligature in the deposit: the Vicup, with a maximum capacity up to the rim of 300 ml, is just about the right size to hold very comfortably a standard olpe, or one kotyle, of liquid.[67] The capacity of this small, handy pouring vessel complements closely the capacity of the standard drinking vessel.

67 Note that the standard lekythos is identified as a liquid measure and was no doubt used to dispense oil as well as wine. See Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 24 and 48.

To summarize, what we see from the shelves of the Tholos at its inaugural moment around 460 is a narrow repertory of plain black-gloss ware with a marked tendency toward standardization, especially in vessels intended for the purpose of serving and consuming liquid. One striking anomaly is the fragment of the remarkably large red-figure kantharos, a very high quality example of a shape that is rare. It is hard to imagine that it was actually used as a drinking vessel; more likely it was used in a ritual or ceremonial context. Thus, the principle of equality ordained by the circular commensal space reverberates to an impressive degree in the ceramic assemblage. The city distributes equally to each member; the highly-standardized cups, pitchers, and small bowls support equity in consumption. If we interpret the ceramic assemblage as belonging to the polis, as the *delta/epsilon* ligature suggests, the polis actually exerts a standard portion control, measure for measure, in a very real way.

The Tholos Assemblage in the Context of the Agora

It is instructive at this point to remind ourselves how distinctive this assemblage and the Tholos itself are compared to other evidence in the Agora for public dining. In terms of physical spaces, we have already remarked upon how unusual the circular building itself is in the context of the architectural setting in the Agora. There is no other archaeologically testified dining space that is contemporaneous with the initial years of use of the Tholos.

A few decades after the Tholos was built, however, at the end of the fifth century, South Stoa I was erected, just around the corner. It housed public dining facilities in traditional square rooms, with conclusive evidence that they were outfitted with dining couches, a parallel to the private *andron*.[68] The Tholos, by that time, certainly stood out as markedly different from its neighbor, where dining took place in a more typical setting.

To compare the ceramic repertory, we have a robust set of data from the evidence of the northwest Agora public dining place, which also served public officials, most likely archons and possibly also cavalry officers. The two deposits from the northwest dining hall begin at the same date as G 12:22, around 460, but they are larger and include later material, perhaps as late as 425.[69] To be sure, there are Vicups and salt cellars and lekanai and banded oinochoai and

68 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 74–78; Camp 2012, 161–164.

69 The two deposits are pit H 4:5, published by Rotroff and Oakley 1992, and the well under the Stoa of Zeus, H 6:5, published by Talcott 1936, 333–354.

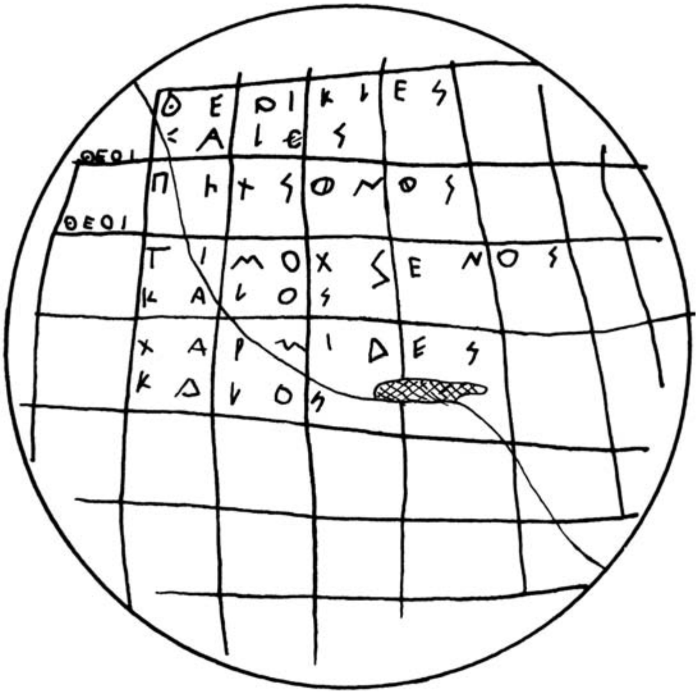

FIGURE 8.16 *Household lekane, drawing of graffiti on undersurface.* P *5164*
COURTESY AGORA EXCAVATIONS

lamps; indeed, there are numerous examples of the *delta/epsilon* ligature. Overall, though, these deposits preserve a much more diverse repertory of material than that from Tholos deposit G 12:22. The most prominent difference is the large quantity of figural pottery, including 'sets' of kraters and drinking vessels that look like the equipment for a private *symposion*.

The deposit also preserves a substantial amount of epigraphic evidence: graffiti scratched on pottery fragments. From it, we get a window into the ambiance of that dining place, an atmosphere that appears to have no parallel at the Tholos, but to be quite at home in *symposia*.[70] Some examples appear to be intentional parodies of democratic activities designed to promote transparency and to curb elite power. On a fragment from the base of a large household lekane of the sort included in our Tholos deposit, we see a hand-drawn grid as if preparation for a stoichedon inscription (fig. 8.16).[71] ΘΕΟΙ is typically

70 Steiner 2002.

71 Agora P 5164, Steiner 2002, 364–366, fig. 8 c–f.

FIGURE 8.17 *Black-gloss Vicup. Graffiti. P 5128*
COURTESY AGORA EXCAVATIONS

FIGURE 8.18 *Black-gloss cup. Ostrakon of Themistokles Neokleos. AO 38*
COURTESY AGORA EXCAVATIONS

a heading for a public inscription, recording a decree or another sort of official action. Instead, here it accompanies a list of individuals identified as "*kalos*." This example is an apparent party-game parody of a formal public inscription.

A second group of fragments appears to mock the form of typical ostraka. For example, one fragment announces *Timoxenes kalos*, a statement very much at home in *symposion* and on sympotic pottery shapes (fig. 8.17).[72] A comparison to a contemporary ostrakon 'voting' to ostracize Themistokles Neokleos shows how the writer plays with the genre to substitute pederastic jocularity for a candidate for ostracism (fig. 8.18).[73] None of this kind of party-game humor is preserved in the contemporary Tholos material.

Conclusions

This new study of the Tholos pottery provides evidence to show that *how* the *prytaneis* ate supports the principles that undergirded the democracy, especially as those principles were newly articulated through the reforms of Ephialtes. Individual Athenians belonged to one of four classes, based on wealth.[74] Wealth was determined by an inventory of the number of bushels of goods—goods counted by a standard measure—produced by a citizen's land. In the Council and hence among the *prytaneis*, individuals from three property classes, representing significant differences in net worth, came together to carry out the work of the polis. All members received food (*trophê*) from the polis. The apparent interest reflected in the standardization of vessels to ensure equivalence in what was consumed anchors the shared meal at the Tholos to the key values of the democracy. The sense of the new that emerges from this body of evidence is impressive—a new building, the first of its kind in the Agora, for a shared meal, created a physical space that was very distinctive and perhaps unfamiliar to all *prytaneis*, regardless of their property class or private social habits. This new building is the locus of the standards of measurement that underlay economic life in the polis. The shared meal, its setting, and its inventory of ceramic serving ware ensuring equal portion provide, measure for measure, a tangible buttress for the new level of Athenian *isonomia* brought about by the reforms of Ephialtes.

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72 Agora P 5128, Steiner 2002, 357–364, fig. 4a–b.

73 Agora AO 38, Steiner 2002, fig. 5e.

74 *Ath. Pol.*, 7.3–4. See Rhodes 1981, 136–146.

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CHAPTER 9

The Hellenistic Symposium as Feast*

Kathleen Lynch

Introduction

In its canonical form the Greek symposium was about drinking, not dining. In the Archaic and Classical polis, the symposium provided a venue for the creation of personal bonds among small groups of men. Wine and its lubricating effects were essential elements of that activity. While food could be consumed, it was not a required element for a symposium. Anthropologically, this is unusual. Most cultures have group-defining rituals focused on the shared consumption of food, not just drink. In fact, the Mycenaeans, Minoans, and Iron Age Greeks all used feasting to create bonds, but also to establish and reiterate power predicated on the ability to supply food.[1] In the late Classical into Hellenistic periods (ca. 425–200), food consumption again becomes much more important with a resultant 'symposium-feast' hybrid activity. By this neologism, I mean a group social occasion that encompasses some of the superficial aspects of the Classical Greek symposium—such as drinking wine and performances—but with a new emphasis on food consumption and its consequent power dynamics. This paper will focus on drinking and dining at Athens using ceramic evidence from the excavations of the Athenian Agora to explore the shift from wine-soaked Archaic and Classical symposia to food-rich Hellenistic banquets and possible explanations for the change.

* I am grateful to the organizers, especially Floris van den Eijnde, for the invitation to speak at the "Feasting and Polis Institutions" conference where the sympotic setting offered great conversation and opportunities to form bonds. I also thank the reviewers for their extremely helpful comments on the text. For a clear discussion of the character of the symposium with detailed discussion of ancient sources, see Wecowski 2014, 27–55. The present paper benefited considerably from Professor Wecowski's keynote address at the Utrecht conference.

1 Wright 2004, 16; Sherratt 2004; van Wees 1995; Killen 1994, 70.

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The Symposium in Archaic and Classical Greece

It is important to highlight some of the features that are particularly characteristic of the Greek symposium and relevant to this study. The symposium at its height in the Archaic and Classical periods in Athens was a communal wine drinking event, but one of special practices and expectations. The symposium qualifies as a 'ritual' since it symbolically differentiated itself from every day activity through its structure and practice.[2] The activities of the symposium—conversation, singing, speeches, contests, and even the drinking itself—required all to participate fully and equally. All the guests shared knowledge of symposium etiquette and expectations, so a shared *habitus* also united the group and set them apart from those who did not have that knowledge.[3] The dialogue between Bdelykleon and his father, a symposium neophyte, in the *Wasps* of Aristophanes (1219–1248) paints a comedic picture of a man who does not know the 'rules' of the symposium and has to be shown how to recline and participate.[4] The act of mixing wine and water in a krater symbolized civilized Greek values of 'temperance' even though symposiasts could consume a good deal of this mixed wine.[5] Serving the mixed wine from a central krater metaphorically united all the drinkers through this civilized ritual.[6] There could be a symposiarch who chose the wine to water ratio, and a host who provided the setting, service, and wine, but no one participant in a Classical symposium was more important than another.[7] Symposia occurred regularly in private houses, usually in a square room, the *andron*; *klinai* (couches) lined the walls in order to create a 'squared-circle' with no overt hierarchy. Classical *andrones* were usually the best decorated room in the house, but located close to the front door to prevent interaction with the remainder of the household (fig. 9.1).[8] In this setting, the intoxicating wine encouraged a small group of participants to relax and form personal relationships.

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2 Dietler 2001, 67.

3 Murray 1983, 258; Wecowski 2014, 75–77.

4 Bowie 1995, 114.

5 Hdt. 6.84; Lissarrague 1990a, 7. Eubulus' ten kraters (fr. *93 K-A) are poetic and metaphorical, but still must reflect the reality of excessive drinking. See Olson 2007, 297, no. H18, and commentary 316–317 with references to similar passages; see also Bowie 1995.

6 Lissarrague 1990b, 197.

7 Wecowski 2014, 36–38.

8 Nevett 1999, 70; Nevett 1994, 107–110; Walker 1983.

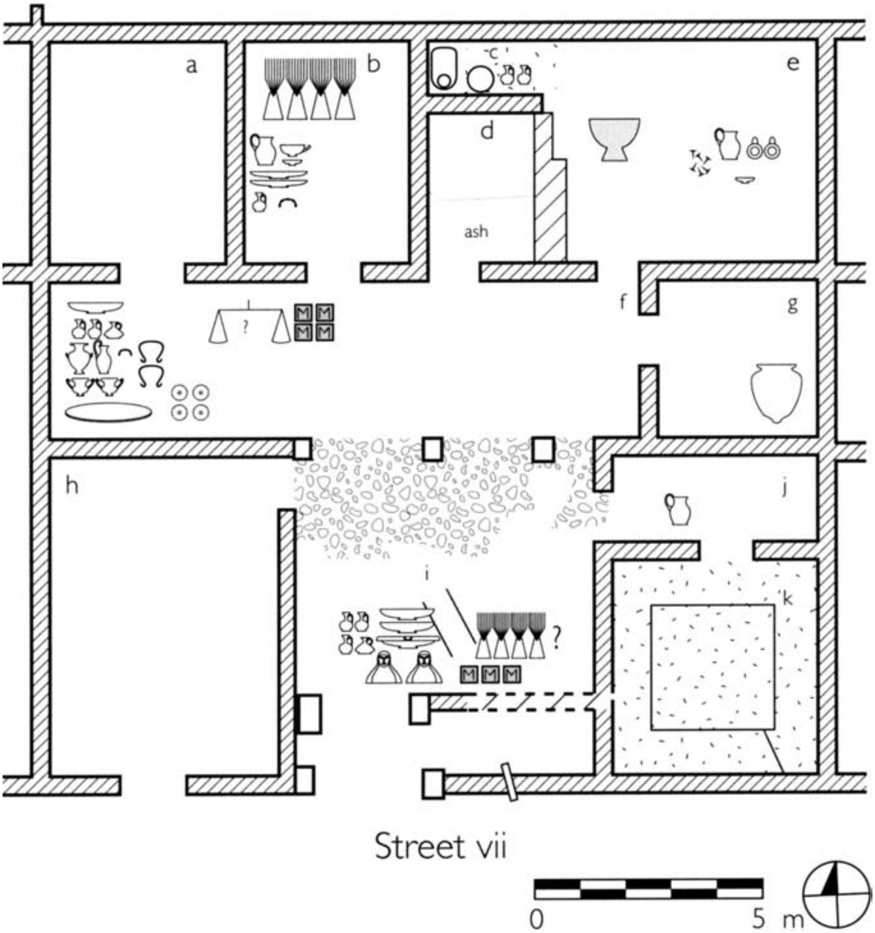

FIGURE 9.1 *Olynthos, House A vii 4. The* andron *is* (*k*) *with a vestibule* (*j*)
AFTER CAHILL 2002, FIG. 22

This paper focuses on private symposia, but the relationships formed in symposia could have public effects.[9] The symposium had both an inclusive and exclusive quality to it. To be a participant in a symposium was to feel *included* in that group, while at the same time the closed and intimate nature of the sympotic evening *excluded* all who were not invited.[10] Archaic and Classical

9 Note that communal drinking could occur in a range of forms in ancient Greece, but this paper focuses only on the symposium, a more formal variety with rules and expectations. See Lynch 2011, 169–170; Wecowski 2014, 8–11.

10 Wecowski 2014, 76–78 who also emphasizes the fluidity of these hierarchies: one day you are 'in' and the next you are 'out.'

symposia distinguished the particular sympotic participants as a group from other groups, but the symposium was not a venue for the creation or maintenance of individual power.[11] Within the symposium, all are equal.[12] Symposia could certainly be politically charged events and produce social capital, but the goal was typically group power, not individual distinction or asymmetrical relationships among participants.

For this study, food distinguishes 'feasts' and symposia. Although symposia aimed to achieve some of the goals that feasts do, such as group definition, reinforcing ideology, or idealizing relationships, they do so without the message of dependency implicit in the shared consumption of provided food.[13] A feasting event can be one of transition, such as a death or marriage, or it can be an arena for the establishment and consolidation of power, but it is a ritual event that is set apart from the ordinary through its practices, performances, food choices, equipment, or attendees. Food, even more so than wine, provides vital sustenance, and therefore is a particularly potent symbol exploited in feast settings. Michael Dietler's category of diacritical feast does map onto the symposium. He characterizes a diacritical feast as the use of differentiated cuisine and styles of consumption to distinguish status.[14] The diacritical feast is the province of the elite, but emulation by lower status participants also occurs. He even cites the Greek symposium as an example of this emulation process, referring to the evolution of the symposium from an aristocratic endeavor to one available to lower status participants.[15] As emulation dilutes the diacritical message of the event, elites modify their practices, upping the ante.[16] There is good evidence for this behavior among the elites in Classical Athens as they reacted to the democratization of the symposium, which I will discuss briefly below. Dietler's category of empowering feast, or Hayden's promotional feast, in which the event is used by an individual or group to gain or consolidate their power over others, maps best onto the Hellenistic symposium-feast, which I will argue was designed to promote individuals, usually the host.[17]

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11 In fact, the symposium was a setting for fomenting resistance to tyranny in Alkaios's Lesbos, see Caciagli 2011.

12 Wecowski 2014, *passim*, esp. 303–304.

13 Dietler 2001, 69, 71, 72; van den Eijnde 2010, 17–19. Food, cuisine, and commensality are all encoded with cultural meaning: see esp. Lévi-Strauss 1966, 595 and Appadurai 1981, 494.

14 Dietler 2001, 86.

15 Dietler 2001, 86; Lynch 2011, 172–173.

16 Wiessner 2001, 137 notes on the historical escalation of the Tee cycle of the Enga of Papua New Guinea: "And now for the most interesting part: competition and accelerated production cannot escalate indefinitely. Something must give."

17 Dietler 2001, 82; Hayden 2001, 55–57.

It is worth pausing a moment here and asking why the Greeks favored wine-centered symposia instead of the food-centered feasts that so many other cultures, including their own Bronze Age past, use as culturally defining events.[18] A meal could be served before the symposium, but it was not necessary.[19] In literary references to the symposium, a clear distinction is made between the eating and drinking portions of the evening, and the eating portion only receives a passing mention. In Plato's *Symposium* (176a), "Socrates took his place on the couch; and when the meal was ended, and the libations offered, and after a hymn had been sung to the god, and there had been the usual ceremonies, they were about to commence drinking." Xenophanes B1 W^2 seems to imply that a meal had already occurred when he opens, "For now the floor is clean, the hands of all and the kylikes are clean; one puts on the woven garlands, another passes around the fragrant perfume in a jar; the krater stands full of good cheer, and more wine, mild and of delicate bouquet, is at hand in ceramic jars, which says it will never fail." This is not to say food was unimportant in Archaic and Classical Athens. It was a necessity as well as a means of diacritical distinction, although not as common a source of group definition as wine consumption.[20]

There are several features of the symposium that may explain its prominent role in Greek, especially Athenian, culture. First, to state the obvious: wine does not give sustenance—it is not a biological necessity—so the focus on wine is not about nutrition or sustaining life. Feasts, in their anthropologically-significant form, do occur at the public level in Greece, especially as food distribution in civic religious festivals and civic dining.[21] These food events reinforce a hierarchical relationship between the polis and its residents. Food-centered events were without doubt critical to shaping culture and ideology, but they were not remarkable in the context of the greater Mediterranean. Many cultures featured a kind of state *qua* religious provisioning and food dependency,

18 Note that in scholarship the symposium is often treated as a 'feast' because many of its objectives overlap with that of commensal feasts; however, I am arguing here that the absence of food gives the symposium a unique character beyond that of food-focused events. Cf. Garnsey 1999, 6, *passim*.

19 Murray 1990a, 6; Wecowski 2014, 38–39.

20 Davidson 1997, 222–227; Wilkins and Hill 2006, 194–198. See also Olson 2007, 256–291 on references to food and dining among fragments of comedy.

21 The importance of agricultural deities and their festivals to the Greeks reflects this role: Garnsey 1999, 3. For an overview of the sacred calendar of Athens, see Mikalson 1975. For a discussion of the meat yield of sacrifices, see McInerney 2010, 175–177. See MacKinnon 2014, 234–135 on the ambiguity of the zooarchaeological remains from the area of the Athenian Agora.

particularly those with a political hierarchy, such as in the Greek Bronze Age. What was more important to Archaic and Classical Greeks was what distinguished them from others; thus, the symposium—along with speaking Greek and a philosophical perspective centered on the importance of human achievement, among other characteristics—became more culturally determinative than feasting events. The abundance of literary, iconographic, and archaeological evidence for the symposium demonstrates that the symposium (i.e., wine drinking) formed a more culturally symbolic event than group dining: thus, the symposium embodies more distinctive 'Greekness' than even religious customs.[22]

Second, the symposium is an epipolitical event; it is within the polis but outside of it too. A system for food provision exists, but outside the world of the symposium; thus, food security has no place and no capital in the symposium. In more hierarchical political situations including redistributive economies, feasts convey a message through the abundant—even conspicuous—provision of food that the politically powerful host will continue to ensure the security of his dependents.[23] The feast reassures the diners while asserting and reminding them of the host's status and power.[24] Again, the goals of the symposium do not line up with food-centered messages of feasts.

Third, wine and its intoxicating effects support the goal of establishing horizontal bonds better than food consumption. The symposium's stress on shared experience, even shared drunkenness, emphasized equality, not hierarchy within the *andron*. It is true that during the Archaic period the symposium did facilitate a hierarchical distinction between those who 'sympose' and those who do not; but, the relationships formed within the symposium were horizontal, not hierarchical, and the egalitarian practices of the symposium masked status asymmetry.[25] The inhibition-lowering effects of wine accelerated the construction of bonds and friendships, for as Alkaios says, "Wine and truth go hand in hand" (fr. 333 L-P), and "Wine is a peephole into man" (fr. 366 L-P). Food consumption would actually be a distraction to the goals of the symposium. You cannot sing with your mouth full.

22 Murray 1990a, 6; Wecowski 2014, 38–39.

23 Garnsey 1999, 2–3; see Wiessner 2001's discussion of feasting and gift giving among the Enga of Papua New Guinea for an example.

24 Dietler 2001, 72. This feature is a major role of feasts in the Late Bronze Age: see Wright 2004, esp. 16.

25 See Wecowski's discussion of how nuanced hierarchies were maintained in the elite Archaic symposium, 2014, 55–74, esp. 66, but in terms of elites vs. nonelites, the symposium stabilized the overall social hierarchy.

From Symposium to Symposium-Feast

In what follows I use ceramic evidence to explore the changing role of the symposium at Athens. The assumption is that the presence, quantity, and ratio of shapes of pottery reflect cultural behavior. Changes to any of these factors may signal a change in social behavior. It is important to remember that the archaeological record is subjective, having been affected by numerous forces including discard behavior, site formation processes, and even archaeological collection management strategies. Nevertheless, like a battered papyrus, the archaeological record is what survives, and we have a duty to understand it as fully as possible. To this end, the reader is cautioned that the charts presented here are meant to be impressionistic and subjective and do not purport to give an infallible perspective.

Around 500 in Athens, the number of men participating in symposia increased dramatically as demonstrated by an increased number of kylikes, a cup shape designed exclusively for the symposium (fig. 9.2). Since every participant had his own cup, kylikes are a good marker of sympotic activity.[26] I have suggested that the new democracy at Athens adopted the symposium as a tool for integrating newly franchised or newly relevant voters into the political life of the city.[27] Within the new democracy, the symposium provided a forum for becoming acquainted with your neighbors or demesmen on an even ground and for politicians to generate support for motions that would ultimately require popular support in the assembly. Nevertheless, the symposium still focused on wine. The private symposia of democratic Athens, however, were probably emulative of elite symposia. There is good evidence that elite Athenian symposia used silver and bronze vessels while lower status symposia used ceramics. For example, in Aristophanes's *Plutus*, Wealth enters a house and all of the ceramic vessels turn to bronze (812–814). The question of metal versus ceramic vessels is a very charged topic, but this difference would be an excellent diacritical feature of a symposium.[28] In the Classical period the

26 Wecowski 2014, 91–93 makes a case for a single, large cup being passed counterclockwise around the sympotic group; however, he allows that each drinker could have his own cup to slake his thirst between turns at the big cup. This theory is interesting and should be tested against archaeological record that should contain a few large cups and a proportionally greater number of smaller cups.

27 Lynch 2011, 170–173.

28 An extreme view of the impoverished relationship of ceramic to metal vessels is expressed in Vickers and Gill 1994.

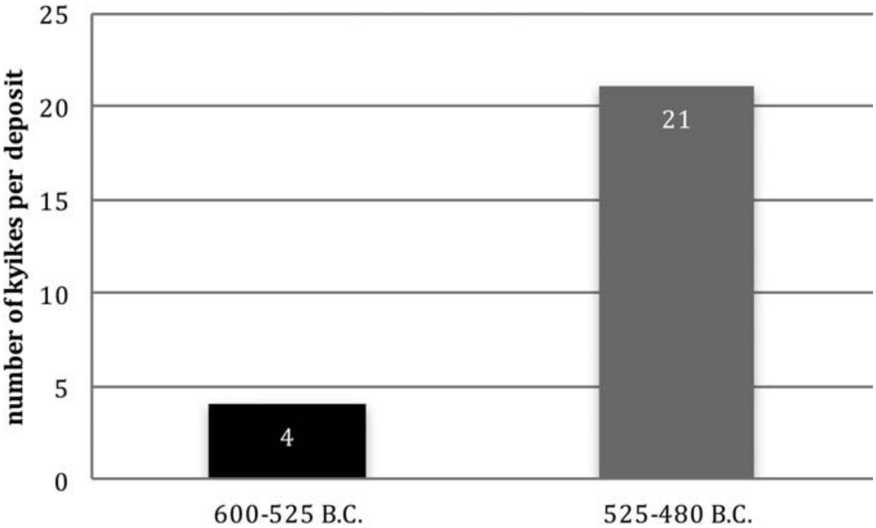

FIGURE 9.2 *Average number of kylikes per deposit in earlier 6th century and later 6th century. Minimum number of vessels counts collected by author from stored pottery at the excavations of the Athenian Agora. Also discussed in Lynch 2011*

Athenian elites pushed back against this democratization of the symposium.[29] The popular reaction against the Hermokopidai in 415—a crime that some attributed to an out-of-hand meeting of an elite sympotic society—reflects the growing tension between the elite and nonelites, which would culminate in the tyrannies of the late 5th century.[30]

In vase-painting images of Archaic and Classical symposia food may be present, but it is incidental or is pictured synoptically as a prelude to the symposium. Food is sometimes but not consistently depicted on the tables in front of *klinai*.[31] The items look like appetizers or garnishes. Sometimes a cake can be discerned, other times there are small dishes with something in them, possibly olives or nuts.[32] Figures carrying wicker baskets or the presence of baskets

29 Murray 1990b, 149–151; Jones 1999, 223–227.

30 Murray 1990b, 151.

31 I do not take the scenes of heroes banqueting as representative of symposia, e.g., Achilles on Toledo 72.54 (*CVA* Toledo 1 [USA 17], 2–4, figs. 4.1–2, 5.1–2 [784–785]), a black-figured amphora with the ransom of Hektor by the Rycroft Painter where the hero enjoys strips of meat.

32 Cakes or bread: often present on Siana cup symposia, e.g., (among many), Taranto 4340 (*ABV* 51.6, *Add*² 13, Brijder 1983, no. 8, pl. 9a). Small dishes: e.g., what looks like a salt cellar on the tondo sympotic scene on a red-figured cup from Castelgiorgio, Florence, Museo

hanging behind *klinai* in symposium scenes suggest that drinkers sometimes brought their own snacks (fig. 9.3).[33] In the domestic assemblages from late Archaic Athens represented by the Persian destruction cleanup deposits excavated in the vicinity of the Classical Agora, small bowls (including salt cellars) and stemmed dishes occurred in a ratio of 1 to 2 with kylikes (figs. 9.4, 9.5).[34] This ratio suggests that each pair of drinkers—two per *kline* and table—had its own snacks or relishes to go with the wine. Significantly, absent from the Archaic Athenian sympotic assemblage and from the entire domestic assemblage are plates or serving size bowls. Whatever the Archaic Athenians were eating, they did not serve it in purpose-made individual ceramic vessels. This is an important observation: Athenian potters of the 6th century and first three quarters of the 5th century did not make table ware to facilitate the consumption of food.[35] In contrast, an enormous amount of energy went into making *and* decorating pottery for the symposium. Pottery for wine drinking alone made up almost 50% of one Athenian household's ceramic possessions (fig. 9.6). The missing food utensils may have been wooden, or perhaps bread was used to sop up stews straight from the pot.

Already in the late 5th century the archaeological picture reveals some changes: there is ceramic evidence that food was becoming a more important element of the Athenian symposium. The occasional late Archaic small bowls and stemmed dishes gave way to more numerous and larger bowls, and the fish plate was introduced.[36] These changes occurred in Athens during the last quarter of the 5th century during the time of the Peloponnesian War. The assumption is that the increase in fine-ware food service vessels is a proxy for an increased role for food in more formal social activity of the city. It is also dur-

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Archeologico Etrusco 82894A, attributed to the Castelgiorgio Painter (*ARV*[2] 386.1, *CVA* Florence 3 [Italy 30], 14–15, pl. 100.2 [1364]).

33 In fig. 9.3 the symposiast carries a wicker basket suspended from his barbiton (Agora P 32418, Lynch 2011, 224, no. 84, color ill. 12, fig. 82).

34 Data collected by the author from examination of 21 deposits filled with debris from the 479 destruction of Athens by the Persians listed in Shear 1993 with the addition of J 2:4, published in Lynch 2011. The total number of stemmed dishes and salt cellars is 207; there are 493 kylikes.

35 Shapes such as one-handlers could be multifunctional, including holding foodstuffs, water, or serving as a scoop. Note that ceramic plates were not for serving food at this time. They were more often used as votive decorations suspended by holes pierced in their rims: Callipolitis-Feytmans 1974. One-handlers: Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 124–127. Plates: Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 144–145.

36 Bowls: Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 128–132. Fish-plate: Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 147–148.

FIGURE 9.3 *Red-figured pelike, P 32418, from the excavations of the Athenian Agora. The symposiast carries a wicker basket suspended from his barbiton.*
COURTESY AGORA EXCAVATIONS

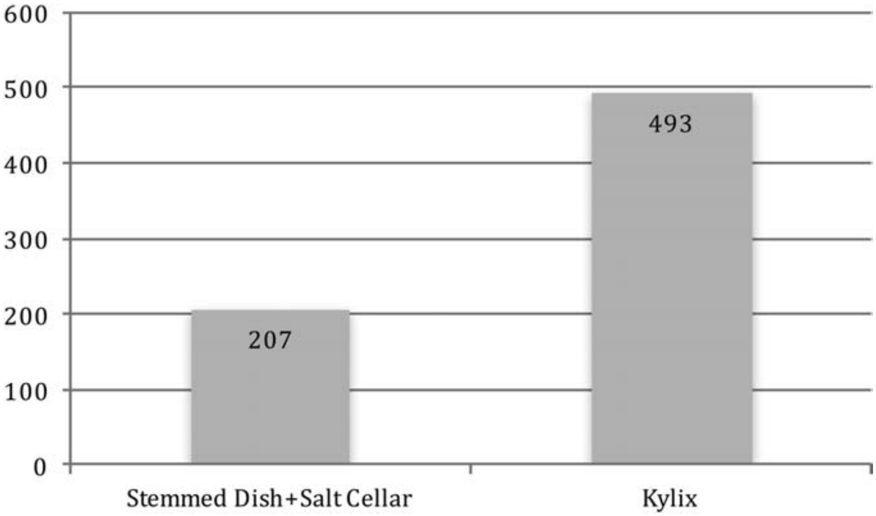

FIGURE 9.4 *Persian Destruction Deposits, ca. 479. Number of stemmed dishes and salt cellars compared to kylikes. Total number of deposits considered is 22. Aggregate minimum number of vessel counts and percentage across all deposits*
DATA FROM SHEAR 1993 AND LYNCH 2011

FIGURE 9.5 *Salt cellar with nonalphabetic graffiti on the exterior and 'ΟΣ' on underside (not pictured), P 32401, from the excavations of the Athenian Agora*
COURTESY AGORA EXCAVATIONS

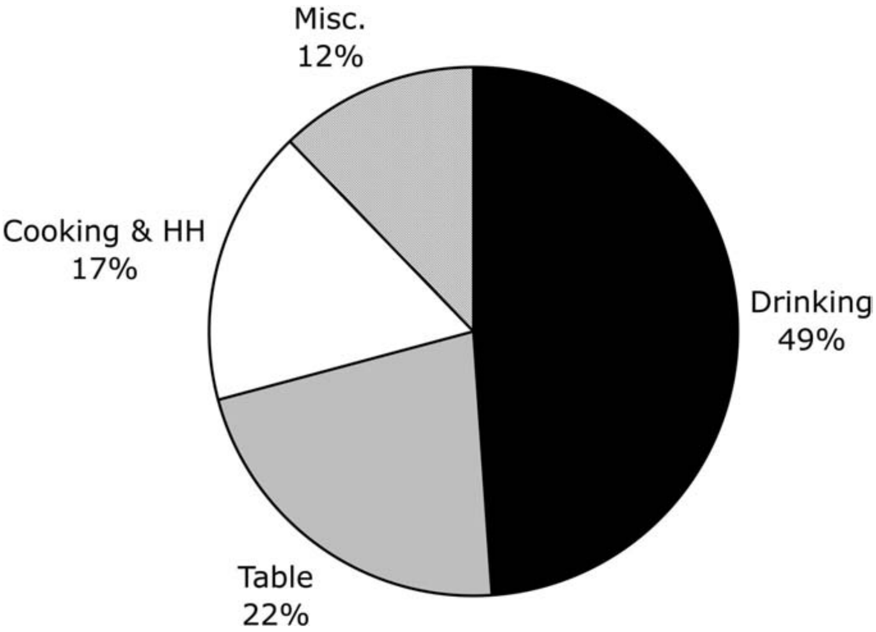

FIGURE 9.6 *Pottery from deposit J 2:4 from the excavations of the Athenian Agora expressed by functional category as percentage of entire assemblage. From Lynch 2011, fig. 16a*
COURTESY ASCSA PUBLICATIONS

ing the last quarter of the 5th century into the early 4th century that the first cookbooks are known in Athens. The famous Sicilian chef Mithaecus dates to this period, as does the *Deipnon* of Philoxenus, a satiric poem about luxurious food.[37] University of Cincinnati doctoral student William F. Dibble proposed in his master's thesis that the new focus on food in Athens during this period may have related to food supply stress during the Peloponnesian War.[38] As food resources became more strained, they became more relevant and became entangled with the social capital gained from banquets and symposia discussed above. Fine-ware pottery follows a similar pattern in Athens. In the last quarter of the 5th century some ceramic shapes adopted pseudo-luxury qualities, perhaps as an antidote to the stress of ongoing war and overcrowding in the city (fig. 9.7).[39] So, I agree with Marek Wecowski's contribution to this volume: like

37 Dalby 1987, 28–36; Dalby 1996, 109–110; Wilkins 2000, 304–306.

38 Dibble 2010.

39 Lynch 2014, 256.

FIGURE 9.7 *Athenian black-gloss stemless cup with ribbing and incised decoration to emulate metal ware* (*P 9448*)
COURTESY AGORA EXCAVATIONS

so many other characteristics of Hellenistic culture, the seeds of the Hellenistic symposium-feast were sown in the Classical period.

Assemblages of pottery from Athens dating to the 4th century show the increasing importance of dining. One of the better-preserved deposits of this period from the Athenian Agora excavations, the so-called Menon's Cistern, provides a snapshot of the late 4th century assemblage.[40] The number of small bowls is now nearly equal to the drinking vessels, plates are on the increase, but salt cellars are in decline (fig. 9.8). The plates and bowls are individual sized, suitable for one small serving for one person. Drinking equipment continues to play an important part in the assemblage, and there does not seem to be an appreciable decrease in any of its components, although the preferred shape of drinking cup has changed from a kylix to a kantharos. The kantharos is one of the late 5th century pseudo-luxury inventions that imitated a metal form.[41]

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40 F 16:8, dating to 325–275. Miller 1974. I restudied the published pottery and unpublished fragments stored at the excavations of the Athenian Agora.

41 Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 117–124 (4th century shapes); see also Lynch 2014, 256.

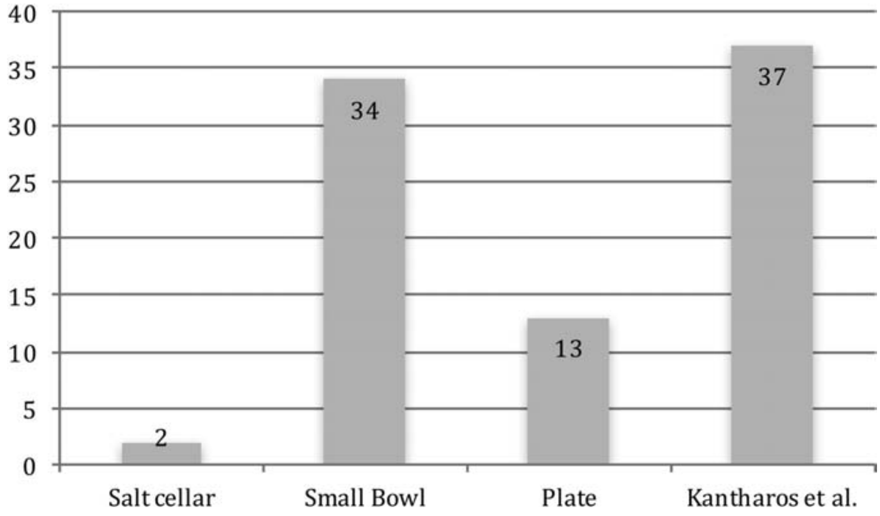

FIGURE 9.8 *Menon's Cistern (F 16:8), ca. 325–275. Minimum number of vessel counts, and percentage of overall deposit (MNV divided by total MNV for all shapes). Minimum number of vessels counts collected by author from stored pottery at the excavations of the Athenian Agora*

The trend toward pseudo-luxury may appear to be a diacritical element of the late 5th century Athenian symposium, but there may be a historical explanation. On the one hand, we may wish to interpret the appearance of imitation metal vessels as evidence of an aspirational class, aiming to distinguish itself through extraordinary equipment. However, the phenomenon begins during the height of the Peloponnesian War. Instead, the pseudo-luxury trend may be escapist: a masking of deprivation through superficial, low cost luxury.[42]

By the middle of the 3rd century, that is, the early Hellenistic period, a dramatic change occurred in the sympotic ceramic assemblage, what Susan Rotroff dubbed "The Missing Krater."[43] Citing statistics from the excavations of the Athenian Agora, Rotroff noted that from 530 to 300 the excavations recovered over 700 kraters, all made in Athens; but, for the period 300–86, only 121 kraters were found. Locally produced kraters ceased altogether by 175.[44] Oinochoai and jugs continued, as did drinking cups, so wine was still being drunk. As others have noted, it is possible that metal kraters were preferred

42 The phenomenon is referred to as the 'lipstick effect' because during the rationing of WWII, women would buy this inexpensive cosmetic to create an impression of normal beauty routines: see Lynch 2014, note 84.

43 Rotroff 1996.

44 Rotroff 1996, 11–12.

over clay; and the fact that metal vessels rarely survive could account for the dearth of the kraters in the archaeological record.[45] But this level of wealth in early Hellenistic Athens—with a metal krater in every house—seems unrealistic.

Hellenistic ceramic kraters, such as they are, are smaller in scale than Classical kraters. Rotroff notes that the shrinking size of kraters had already begun in the 4th century but becomes more pronounced in the Hellenistic period. Jugs also shrink. She concludes, "Clearly smaller amounts of wine and water were being mixed."[46] Rotroff also notes that a new shape for wine storage appears in Athens during the Hellenistic period, the *lagynos* (fig. 9.9).[47] The quantity of the wine it held suggests that individuals brought a personal supply of wine in lagynoi to some drinking events.[48] The Hellenistic vessels paint a picture of individuals mixing wine and water directly in their cups. Recall that the ritualized mixing of wine and water in a krater in Archaic and Classical symposia was a metaphor for group bonding: each drinker was served from the communal vessel, thus all partook of shared wine and shared experiences.[49] No longer was the emphasis on group identity and group experience but rather on personal experience and connection to the host.

Using another well-preserved deposit from the excavations of the Athenian Agora, the so-called Komos Cistern, food service vessels, especially plates and bowls, make up almost half of the early Hellenistic ceramic assemblage, and these food consumption forms now exceed drinking equipment (fig. 9.10).[50] A concurrent change in the space of the symposium also occurs. Instead of the square, Classical *andron*, in which all participants could share in a conversation, some Hellenistic houses feature rectangular spaces in which it would be impossible to converse with anyone farther than your neighbor.[51] Thus, another aspect of group identity in the Classical symposium was eliminated.

45 How much metal ware there was in the ancient world is impossible to determine, but Vickers and Gill 1994 considers among other literary evidence descriptions of Roman plunder (67–69) and the presence of metal ware in Scythian and Thracian tombs (72–73) to make the case that metal ware was more abundant than we think (76). Metal vessels also influenced the design and decoration of Hellenistic ceramic vessels: Rotroff 1997, 12.

46 Rotroff 1996, 18.

47 Rotroff 1996, 22; Rotroff 1997, 127.

48 Rotroff 1996, 14.

49 Lissarrague 1990b, 197.

50 M 21:1, Thompson 1948, 160–161. Rotroff 1997 notes that small bowls disappear in the Hellenistic period but are replaced with saucers and plates: Rotroff 1997, 14–15.

51 Bergquist 1990, and esp. table 3.

FIGURE 9.9 *Artist's reconstruction of a* lagynos*, P 3188, from the excavations of the Athenian Agora*
PIET DE JONG, ARTIST. COURTESY AGORA EXCAVATIONS

The Hellenistic *andron* is also positioned ostentatiously in a house so that architecture and decoration could characterize the host's wealth and status.[52] Unfortunately, remains of Classical and Hellenistic houses from Athens are not sufficiently preserved to see the change, so we must look to sites such as Delos and Eretria for examples (fig. 9.11).

Pauline Schmitt Pantel in her important book *La cité au banquet* on public dining in Athens has already noted that banqueting took on new meaning in the Hellenistic period as public dining became more prevalent. Wealthy individuals could host dinners for large groups of people, sometimes entire populations of a city.[53] These public feasts were euergetistic events, and thus qualify as 'empowering' and 'competitive' feasts in which one individual gained social

52 Walter-Karydi 1998. Delos, see especially Trümper 2007, 326–330; Eretria, see Reber 1998.
53 Schmitt Pantel 1992; Schmitt Pantel 1997, 31–35.

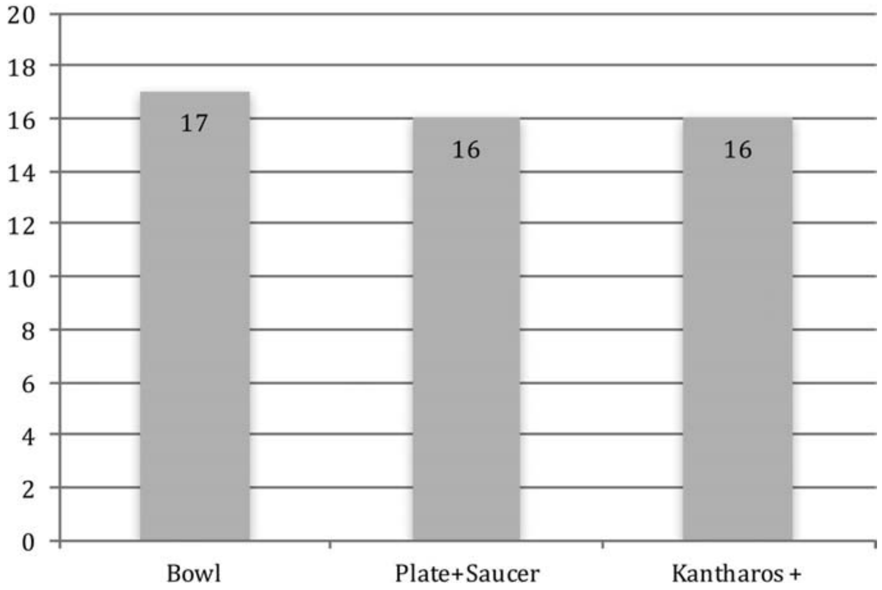

FIGURE 9.10 *Komos Cistern (M 21:1), ca. 250–175. The number of dining shapes is now about equal to drinking. Minimum number of vessel counts collected by author from stored pottery at the excavations of the Athenian Agora*

capital from the event. Private symposia continued in the Hellenistic period, and it is likely that many of their features (larger groups, less emphasis on equality and inclusion, more food) were trends adopted from the public sphere. We should also consider a trickle-down effect of Macedonian royal banquets, discussed by Manuela Mari and Rolf Strootman elsewhere in this volume.[54]

The reason for the transformation from symposium to symposium-feast comes down to the changing political roles of Athenian citizens and a change in the role of polis government. Through the 4th century, then into the 3rd, the polis government of Athens transferred the cost of many public activities onto individuals.[55] The loss of tribute and the complicated politics of the 4th and 3rd centuries strained the state coffers, and epigraphic evidence of honors for *epidoseis* (donations) indicates that wealthy individuals increasingly stepped in. The existing liturgies such as choregia and trierachia grew to include one-time financial support for purchasing grain, construction projects, and buying shields for the troops, among other things.[56] Several times during the Hel-

54 Nielsen 1998, 101–104, 124–125.

55 Hakkarainen 1997.

56 Hakkarainen 1997, 13.

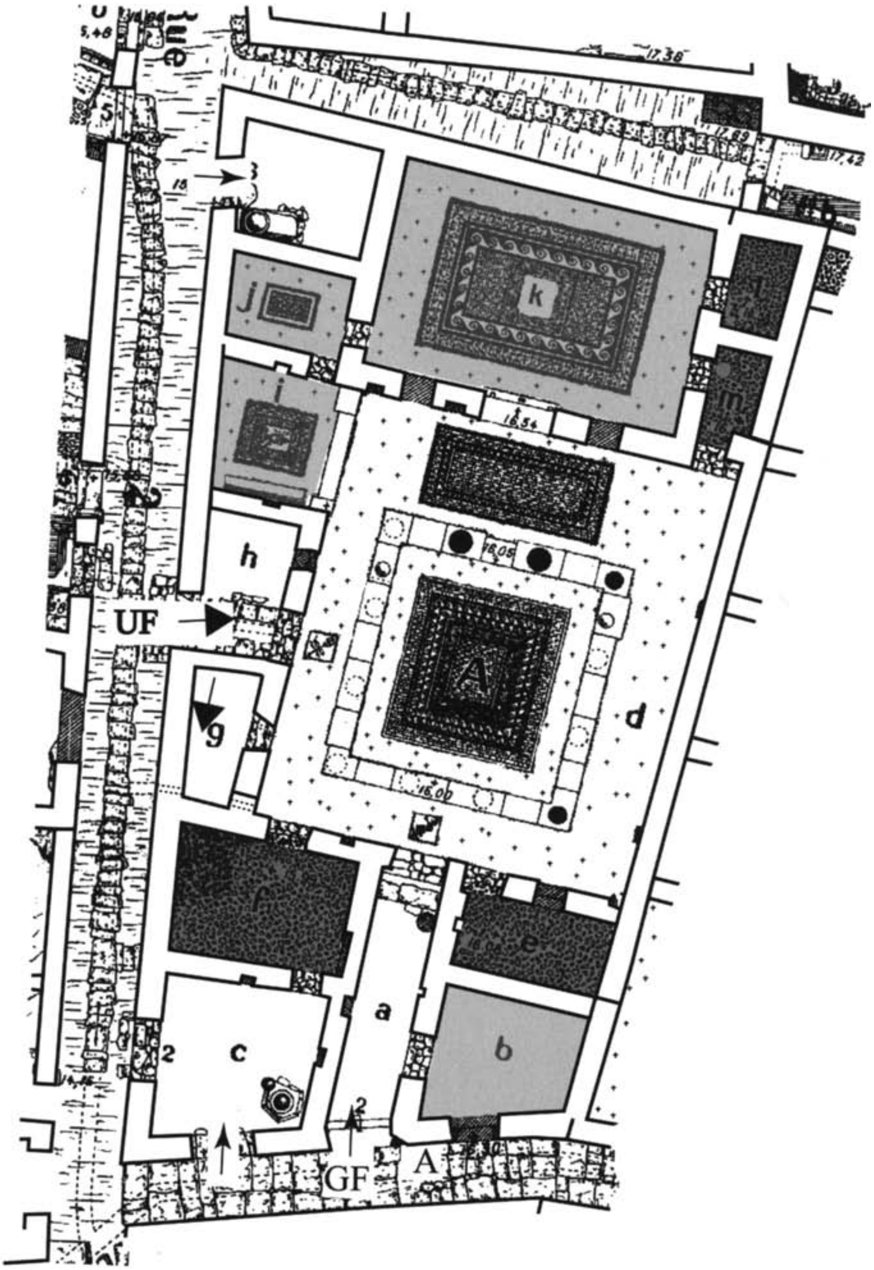

FIGURE 9.11 *Plan of the House of the Trident, Delos. The andron is room* K*, a large rectangular, axial, well-decorated space off the peristyle*
AFTER TRÜMPER 2007, FIG. 35.4

lenistic period Athens's food supply was threatened, so individual donors, who included citizens, metics, and foreigners, paid for ships to bring grain. They expected recognition for their generosity, their *charis*. They received honors from the assembly, and some of these decrees comment that others should follow the donor's lead.[57] This notion is surprising in contrast with the legislated equality imposed by 5th century Athenian leadership; but, back then, they could afford to do so. The shift to individual financing of state and public activities promoted the role of individuals instead of groups and provided a new and personalized arena for elite competition both in public and in private.[58] It also created a greater gulf between the wealthy (the Athenian 1%) and the not-so-wealthy. The Classical symposium with its emphasis on group definition and equality no longer reflected the social values of the city's elite. Instead, hosts of Hellenistic symposium-feasts found more social capital in feeding and entertaining guests than in bonding with them. The relationship that developed was asymmetrical, but still personal, at least from the perspective of the guests. The hospitality offered to guests could, perhaps, make the citizen guests more congenially disposed to voting favorably for honors for the host.

Athens under the Macedonians could still control some of its own affairs, and it aspired—occasionally—to restore the 'old' democracy. Nevertheless, the volatile political landscape of 3rd to 1st century Athens resulted in spells of oligarchy, democracy, and tyranny like a revolving door.[59] One constant is that individual position and power, whether as a popular demagogue or as a monarchical sycophant, grew in importance, and it could be showcased effectively through symposium-feasts. The advantage of the symposium-feast is that it embodied the tradition of old symposia, much like old democracy, while wrapping the event in a more practical modern cloak.

Conclusion

Returning to the anthropological view of feasts, in the Hellenistic period (just as in the Bronze and Iron Age) the event—the feast—was designed to single out an individual who would gain power and status through performing the feast. As we saw, from the 4th century on, food had a larger role in the symposium, so that by the Hellenistic period it had eclipsed wine as the key symbolic

57 Oliver 2007, 204.

58 Hakkarainen 1997, 9; Lycurgus drew upon the wealthy to help support public activities.

59 Bayliss 2011, 53.

aspect of the event. The focus on the provision of food, especially luxurious food, became a symbol of the host's status. The symposium-feast of the Hellenistic period emphasized the power to provide while devaluing the messages of equality encoded in the Classical sympotic ritual. Through the symposium-feast the host showed that his wealth and status allowed him to provide sustenance in an asymmetrical relationship; the provision of food stood as a symbol for the opportunities and future the host could provide for his guests outside the context of the feast. Wine alone could not achieve this goal.

I have said little that is new here, but I have used an anthropological perspective to shed light on why the symposium evolved from wine-focused to food-focused from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods. The symposium and symposium-feast were agents of culture in that they reinforced values and relationships. Nevertheless, the changing role of the individual within the polis probably caused the symposium to transform, not vice versa. Dietler and Hayden describe the feast as "a remarkably supple ritual practice that allows the strategic reciprocal conversion of economic and symbolic capital toward a wide variety of culturally appropriate political goals."[60] Indeed, the symposium in its basic outline would eventually evolve into the Christian communion ritual. Wine did not give the symposium its longevity; the symposium's suppleness as an arena for symbolic expression did.

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60 Dietler and Hayden 2001, 13.

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CHAPTER 10

When Did the Symposion Die? On the Decline of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet*

Marek Wecowski

Introduction

The relationship of the symposion with feasting (in the narrow sense of the term) and with the polis has been hotly debated ever since the early 1980s. But the most significant problem remains unresolved—namely, that we still lack a clear and widely adopted definition of the symposion. In scholarly literature, we hear of Mycenaean or even Egyptian symposia. As a result, the peculiarity of the Greek aristocratic banquet of the Archaic and Classical periods is easily forgotten.

It is generally agreed nowadays that the symposion can be described in the following ways: as a strictly egalitarian elite gathering, as a nocturnal wine party attended by male aristocrats, as a drinking occasion strictly separated from feasting that involved more solid food, and as a party full of musical and poetic entertainments.[1] I for one would consider the last point fundamental and I would not hesitate to call the symposion a culture-oriented banquet: the active participation of the diners in poetic and more generally intellectual com-

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1 My description of the symposion owes a great deal to the groundbreaking studies by Oswyn Murray, such as Murray 1983 and Murray 1994.

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petitions, improvised or not, was a constitutive element of the symposion ever since the time of the 'Cup of Nestor' from Pithekoussai in the second half of the eighth century, as I tried to show elsewhere.[2] In addition to that, in my definition of the symposion, I would emphasize that such cultural skills and abilities were a prerequisite for one to be included in elite drinking circles and, as such, the symposion served as a forum for the natural selection of Greek aristocracy, sealing the ascendency of an ambitious and successful individual (and his offspring) if admitted by the traditional local elites to their symposia.[3] I will return to this important point shortly.

Let me first recall a few typical characteristics of the symposion.[4] The basic principle of sympotic entertainment was the rule of doing things *epidexia* or *endexia* (to the right). Almost all the sympotic competitions and performances were executed taking turns, with the cup circulating round the dining hall and reaching each diner in turn. This custom is famously alluded to in a negative manner by Kritias of Athens (Fr. 6 West^2, lines 1–4), but its observance can be traced back to the Homeric poems. Furthermore, if we assume compliance with this habit in eighth-century Pithekoussai, we may better understand the function of the epigram on the 'Cup of Nestor.' As a matter of fact, the *epidexia* procedure assured the equality of the symposiasts while at the same time stimulating and regulating their competition in toasts, poetry, jokes, speeches, love discourse, riddles, or games of dexterity—no one could be omitted by the circulating cup ensuring that everyone had equal access to sympotic performances. This tension between the spirit of competition and the principle of equality is crucial to our understanding of the symposion.

A working definition of the symposion is desperately needed if we are to analyze the decline of this institution, since both the terminology of the symposion and some typically sympotic customs continued well into the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods. We find them, for instance, in fourth- and even early third-century Attic comedy, in such playwrights as Diphilos, Apollodoros of Karystos, or Menander. Although much of these references must have been due to the (partly) conservative conventions of this literary genre, there can be no doubt that Athenian elites cherished, or tried to cherish, some habits and values of old, at least as they were perceived at the time. Furthermore, in Roman times old sympotic customs were obviously a central issue for Plutarch in his *Symposiaka* (*Table Talks*) and in his *Symposion of Seven Sages*. At times,

2 Wecowski 2014, esp. 129–137.

3 In this sense, the symposion was just one of many possible 'modes of social recognition' studied by Alain Duplouy (Duplouy 2006), but in my opinion it was the crucial one.

4 As I argued extensively in Wecowski 2014, 19–124.

however, Plutarch's speculations betray the purely artificial character of his implementation of Classical sympotic 'realities.' In this respect, Athenaeus of Naukratis seems more accurate in his *Learned Banqueters*, even though his banquet is set in a Roman environment. This fact is understandable as his work represents a mature product of a deep erudition and his antiquarianism does not serve the purpose of a philosophical and moral instruction as did the works by Plutarch (or perhaps Athenaeus does so much less straightforwardly). By contrast, the parodic *Symposion* by Lucian of Samosata, to which I will return below, is a case of a rather superficial antiquarianism.

As we can see, the moment when the symposion properly speaking went out of fashion in the Greek world is hard to ascertain. True, two authoritative treatments of this issue do suggest a certain chronological threshold. Oswyn Murray, one of the pioneers of sympotic studies, in his paper on royal Hellenistic banquets states that "there occurred a gradual loss of sympotic culture in the 2nd and 1st centuries,"[5] while Alan Cameron in his classic book *Callimachus and his Critics* asserts that the third century was "a new golden age of sympotic poetry."[6] However, here I will argue that the twilight of the symposion should be dated much earlier, around the mid-fourth century, and that the origins of its decline can be traced back to some important cultural changes of the late fifth century.

Before I present the possible historical background to this process, I will review some evidence. First, Susan Rotroff observed in the material from the Athenian Agora a very peculiar phenomenon that she called 'the missing Hellenistic krater.'[7] According to Rotroff, the krater, the most emblematic and therefore the most indicative vessel of the Archaic and Classical symposion, "became a rare shape in the wake of the conquests of Alexander the Great."[8] At the time of her publication in 1996, some 700 kraters from the Agora were known for the period between 530 and 300, whereas for the entire period between 300 and 86 there were only 121. Something important obviously must have happened between Alexander and the late first century.

Second, Katherine Dunbabin's study of the changing shapes of Greek banquet rooms in the Hellenistic period has shown that the typical sympotic square (or nearly square), cozy *andron* with an off-center entrance coexists with, and ultimately yields to, more substantial forms such as the so-called

5 Murray 1996, 23.

6 Cameron 1995, 73.

7 See Kathleen Lynch's contribution to this volume, which presents archaeological indicators of the profound change in Greek convivial customs—from the symposion to what Lynch calls the 'symposion-feast.'

8 Rotroff 1996, 10.

'broad rooms' from rich private houses on Delos, which were rectangular and oblong halls with multiple entrances on one side of the room.[9] In the royal Macedonian capital of Aigai, some of the banquet halls, which are clustered in the main peristyle of the palace, repeat the shape of the Classical sympotic *andron*, but on a much larger scale with up to 19 or perhaps even 30 couches. When considering the examples from Delos and Aigai, it is important to note a crucial change from Archaic and Classical sympotic space: although the arrangement of couches can still be interpreted as egalitarian, it no longer favors intimate contact between all the diners. On the contrary, the sizes of such rooms must have encouraged dividing the drinking group into smaller circles of guests, which would have impeded orderly entertainment and performances involving all of them together.

Third, Jan Kwapisz aptly observes some new and nonsympotic or even openly antisympotic customs creeping into the world of Alexandrian poetry, arguing against Alan Cameron's idea of full-blown convivial performances of Hellenistic poetry.[10] Kwapisz convincingly argues that sympotic elements in Hellenistic poetry reflect antiquarian and ultimately patriotic nostalgia shared by many citizens of the Hellenistic world including great poets of the time.[11] I will augment Kwapisz's conclusions, based on Theokritos, Kallimachos, Poseidippos, or Hedylos of Samos, with a note concerning the drinking parties (lit. *potoi*) organized by the fashionable gastronomer Lynceus of Samos, disciple of Theophrastus and brother of the historian Douris, at the very beginning of the third century: "at them, a *lagynos* lay beside each man, full of wine, offering every person a cup whenever he felt like one" (ἐν οἷς λάγυνος κατ' ἄνδρα κείμενος οἰνοχοεῖτο, πρὸς ἡδονὴν διδοὺς ἑκάστῳ ποτήριον).[12] What is at stake in Lynceus's *Letter to Diagoras* is not some exceptional manner of drinking wine, but a particular munificence of the host—in contrast to the habit of apportioning only a limited amount of wine to individual guests with their cups refilled only when the hosts orders the cup-bearers to do so, as was the case in the banquets of the sober Spartan king Kleomenes III in the third century.[13] The *lagynos* is a newcomer among the Greek convivial wares. As Rotroff noted, the *lagynos* was an "elegant, long necked decanter" that began to be made in fine

9 Dunbabin 1998.

10 J. Kwapisz was also well aware of the other two indicators of the decline of the symposion discussed above.

11 Kwapisz 2014.

12 *Ap.* Ath. 499 C (tr. S. Douglas Olson) = Lynceus, fr. 6: Dalby 2000, 385.

13 Phylarchus, *FGrHist* 81 Fr. 44 (*ap.* Ath. 142 C–F).

ware in the third century.[14] Actually, it serves not only as an individual flask at a drinking party, but also as a handy canteen for travelers. And the *lagynos* is well represented among Hellenistic vessels from the Athenian Agora. The consequences of the practice to which Lynceus alludes in his *Letter to Diagoras* are clear: the wine no longer circulates 'to the right' in the dining room. In principle, one might interpret this offering of a *lagynos* as an extravagant idea of the Samian gastronomer, but it seems more likely that it is a testimony to a new epoch in Greek drinking habits. Earlier, in the second half of the fifth century, Kritias of Athens repeatedly emphasized the peculiarity of Spartan drinking customs compared to customs in Athens and other Greek poleis: no circulation of wine *epidexia* and "the Lakedaimonian drinks individually from the cup at his side; his cup-bearer pours just so much as he might drink."[15] This mirrors the procedure described by Lynceus, but without the handy individual *lagynos* of the Hellenistic period. In the late fifth century, then, customs similar to those attested for the Hellenistic period are decidedly irreconcilable with the sympotic norms.

Fourth, we should note examples of the antiquarianism of the generation of Aristotle's disciples. Aristoxenos and Dikaiarchos symptomatically wrote erudite works on musical performances and on cultural contests, touching upon many sympotic practices, including their famous speculations on the nature of the convivial song called *skolion*, showing that one of the most important sympotic pastimes already belonged among the antiquities of the Greek culture by the second half of the fourth century. Similarly, another of Aristotle's disciples, Klearchos of Soli, wrote an erudite treatise *On Riddles*, commenting on yet another important sympotic practice. Dikaiarchos himself, in his work *On Alcaeus*, commented on the arch-sympotic game of *kottabos*. I will return to the ancient theories of the *skolion* below, but already here we need to ask ourselves how we should understand the change to one of the fundamental institutions of 'Greek life' in the Archaic and Classical periods, and look to the evidence for the change, in Athens and far beyond, in the late fourth and in the third century.

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14 Rotroff 1996, 22.

15 Kritias of Athens, *BNJ* 338A Fr. 10 (tr. W.S. Morison). Cf. Kritias, Fr. 6 West².

The Decline of the Symposion

Lucian of Samosata wrote his *Symposion* (*or the Lapiths*) several centuries later. In strictly convivial terms, it is a very strange combination of antiquated customs—inspired by Attic prose and Attic comedy of the Classical period—with a merciless and not always funny satire on the habits of the Imperial period. At the very end of this dialogue (*Symp.* 46), featuring a banquet of philosophers turned rogue, a new character comes to the fore that had previously been totally invisible, the flute player (*auletris*). One of the drunken philosophers tries to rape her when the light goes out, a scene that forms a pinnacle of the deplorable plot. Lucian's work is just one last literary tribute to the *Symposion* of Plato and his dialogue is full of allusions, references, and intertextual plays with both Plato's and Xenophon's *Symposia*. In this particular case, it seems Lucian recalled a rather marginal scene in Plato's dialogue just in time to place one additional allusion that would be readily recognizable to his attentive readers, who must have followed with amusement his parody of the time-honored genre of the literary and philosophical *Symposion* invented half a millennium before. For our present question, however, the episode in Plato's *Symposion* is of paramount importance.

Written in the first quarter of the fourth century and set in the last quarter of the century before, the two literary *Symposia* by Plato and Xenophon form a precious testimony to the specificity of the Classical symposion. Despite the differences in the way each work presents their sympotic 'realities,' they share a curious mix of traditional and unorthodox. On the one hand, the organization of sympotic entertainment looks entirely conventional in both dialogues and even helps us complete our knowledge of the technical side of the symposion by the details that—for conventional reasons—could not find their way into Archaic and Classical convivial poetry. On the other hand, the way the characters amuse themselves at symposia in both accounts sharply contrasts with the ways of the symposiasts of the Archaic and early Classical periods. What happens to the flute player in Plato is a good case in point (176 E; tr. H.N. Fowler):

> Then all of them, on hearing this, consented not to make their present meeting a tipsy affair, but to drink just as it might serve their pleasure (πίνοντας πρὸς ἡδονήν). "Since it has been resolved, then," said Eryximachus, "that we are to drink only so much as each desires, with no constraint on any (πίνειν ὅσον ἂν ἕκαστος βούληται, ἐπάναγκες δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι), I next propose that the flute-girl who came in just now be dismissed: let her pipe to herself or, if she likes, to the women-folk within, but let us

> seek our entertainment today in conversation (ἡμᾶς δὲ διὰ λόγων ἀλλήλοις συνεῖναι) [...]".

Thus, not only the erotic allure of the *auletris* is gone, but also the accompaniment to the elegiac or iambic performances of the diners.

One could of course consider this episode an expression of Plato's ethical agenda. Plato was not the first to have such an agenda regarding the symposion, as the case of the famous fragment B1 by Xenophanes of Kolophon shows well. For Plato, just as wine will only be consumed moderately in this philosophical banquet, so the feminine company, music, and the immoral, hubristic convivial poetry will be eliminated altogether. At first sight, this conclusion may be borne out by another passage of Plato from his *Protagoras* (347 C–348 A; tr. W.K.C. Guthrie, slightly adapted), where he distinguishes three different types of symposia. First, there are symposia of "second-rate and commonplace people" who, "being too uneducated (ὑπὸ ἀπαιδευσίας) to entertain themselves as they drink by using their own voices (*phonē*) and conversational resources (*logoi*), put up the price of female musicians, paying well for the hire of an extraneous voice (ἀλλοτρίαν φωνήν)—that of the pipe—and find their entertainments in its warblings." Second, there are symposia of the *kaloi kagathoi* and of the educated people (*pepaideumenoi*). Even when they drink heavily, they do not invite "girls piping or dancing or harping," but amuse themselves "using their own voices in sober discussion and each taking turn to speak and listen" quoting and discussing great poets of old. Finally, however, because the poets are so little valued, only a third category, philosophical symposia, where no girls and no poetry are allowed, will meet Socrates's high standards of cultural entertainment.

In the sympotic reality of Archaic and Classical times, the first two types of symposia were not mutually exclusive, but formed the extremes of normal sympotic behavior. Uncouth diners would indulge in the company of hired girls, but the very presence of the latter meant that some musical and poetic entertainment took place, performed to the accompaniment of the pipes or of the harp. There must have been some place for the erudite symposia of the *pepaideumenoi*, but they too needed hired pipe players for their recitals and performances to be possible. In a word, Plato is merely conceiving a radical model here, which gives him the opportunity to advertise his own ideal of the philosophical symposion, incarnated in its entirety in his *Symposion*. However, there is something more to this passage of the *Protagoras*. I would argue that Socrates could not have used descriptive language here, as if simply reporting on well-known realities of his time, had it not been possible to envisage such behaviors. To put it another way, the common denominator of the two non-

philosophical types of symposia is the diminishing importance of the musical and poetic performances, or improvisations, by the participants of the banquet *themselves*. In a radical form, both types of symposia grasp something real in the Greek convivial customs of Plato's time.

That this change was indeed present may be inferred from Xenophon in his *Symposion*, where, famously, potential poetic and musical performances by the symposiasts are partly replaced by 'a sexy floor show,' as Victoria Wohl puts it, and other dancing and pantomimic performances by a troupe of hired slaves.[16] Besides, just as in Plato, Xenophon's characters will amuse themselves mostly indulging in their speeches or verbal exchanges. As a result, in Plato (177 D), "we ought each of us to make a speech in turn, from left to right, praising Eros as beautifully as he can" (... χρῆναι ἕκαστον ἡμῶν λόγον εἰπεῖν ἔπαινον Ἔρωτος ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ὡς ἂν δύνηται κάλλιστον). Thus, rhetorical performances replace poetry. Some scholars have long seen that both Plato and Xenophon may be interpreted as testifying to a new chapter in sympotic history, when active poetic performances by the dilettante diners lose their traditional place of honor and are superseded by rhetoric and by the passive pleasure of watching or hearing professional performers. But my point is that—despite the fact that Plato's and Xenophon's speeches are still executed 'to the right,' in the traditional sympotic manner—we should consider both decisions of Agathon's guests in Plato together: the dismissal of the flute player and the habit of individual consumption of wine (rather than the traditional procedure of drinking *epidexia*). In a word, the role of the Hellenistic *lagynos* was perhaps not only foreshadowed by the procedure of drinking 'as it might serve their pleasure,' *pros hedonen*, as one conceivable although exceptional manner of drinking at traditional symposia. But, moreover, the whole situation we encounter at (some) Hellenistic banquets might have had something to do with a more general cultural change that must have involved a rather complex set of factors. It is important to stress that what came to an end was a very peculiar convivial culture that can be traced back to the times of the handsome sympotic epigram of the 'Cup of Nestor.'

One of the factors involved in this change becomes clear when we return to the convivial pastime called *skolion*. Our ancient authorities, all stemming from Dikaiarchos's treatise *On Musical Contests*,[17] comment on this issue as follows (tr. D. Collins):

16 Wohl 2004, 337.

17 Fr. 88 Wehrli = schol. Pl. Grg. 451 e; cf. Suda [Σ 643 Adler] and Photius, Lex. [Σ 523], s.v.

> *Skolion*: the drinking song [...], because there were three types of song: one was sung by all [so a choral song—M.W.], another by each person one after another, and a third by the most educated since the order was random. It is called *skolion* (because of the order).

The unsettling etymology that traces the term *skolion* from the adjective *skolios* (crooked) becomes fully understandable when we assume that—as I have already emphasized—almost all sympotic games and pastimes were subject to the rule of circulation 'to the right.' The 'upgraded' version of the game, the poetic contest intended to take the performers by surprise, might have been called 'the crooked one' because of the contrast with the norm of sympotic performances. This is exactly what is meant by the third type of *skolion* in Dikaiarchos's list. But the second definition, the custom of singing the *skolion* 'to the right,' reflecting a generalized meaning of the term now encompassing all regular types of individual sympotic songs, seems to belong to an epoch when the original practice (and meaning) were already forgotten or abandoned, when 'the most educated' diners needed to proceed with this extremely difficult game were no longer available in sufficient number, that is, most probably, when the musical training of an average symposiast differed from that of the traditional aristocratic *paideia*.

Thanks to Aristophanes, we have a *terminus ante quem* for this phenomenon. In the *Wasps* (1235–1236), we witness a certain Theoros who 'caps' the *skolion* put forward by Kleon, while 'reclining at his feet,' which means that a *skolion* was circulating *epidexia* in this particular case. To make Aristophanes's joke fully understandable to his public, this 'simplified' procedure must have been around for some time by the time of the Lenaean contest in 422. And indeed, Aristophanes famously complains time and again about the decline of the traditional musical culture and education. Nevertheless, traditional convivial poetry was still being performed at this time and likely also in the times of Plato and Xenophon, because there still is a hired flute player available in the house of Agathon.

In the luxurious aristocratic environment of the symposion of the Archaic period fashion was everything. The sheer number of the attested names of monodic convivial poets coming from almost every corner of the Greek world attests to its prominence. A new song was desperately needed at all times. At some point in the fifth century, however, the fashionable music and song moved somewhere else. They no longer belonged to the realm of the symposion, but to that of the dramatic and paradramatic genres (such as the dithyramb or the nome), and were no longer available for execution by dilettante performers at symposia. In the case of Plato's symposion, perhaps two of the diners

would be capable of such a performance: Agathon, as the host himself was one of the champions of the so-called New Music, and the famously versatile and extremely gifted Alkibiades. Interestingly, however, for his symposion Agathon hired a female *auletris*, a traditionally sympotic professional, and not some foreign celebrity pipe player of the New Music, one of his collaborators on the Athenian stage. Nevertheless, one may be tempted to think that the dismissal of the *auletris* was all but indispensable to Plato, since performing traditional sympotic poetry would look old-fashioned if not uncouth in such sophisticated company.

One can rightfully say, then, that one factor responsible for the decline for the symposion was the ultimate professionalization of musical culture. And this brings me to my next point. Another radical change of Greek life occurred in the late fifth century, namely, the rise and development of … gastronomy. As a result, at the end of this century, the innovative poem by Philoxenos of Leukas (*PMG* 836) focuses its attention on the dinner (*deipnon*) preceding the symposion. This attitude must have had far-reaching consequences. One of the fundamental ideas underlying the traditional symposion was that of strictly separating the luxurious wine party from the feast at which one eats solid food and meat in particular. Now the extravagance of the sumptuous dinner makes this very separation not only old-fashioned but certainly much less valued when the more pleasurable feast becomes the fashionable subject of cookbooks and convivial poetry, but naturally also of common table talk. The *deipnon*, instead of the symposion, becomes emblematic of the luxurious and desirable lifestyle of elites, at least to some extent. And this is a truly revolutionary change in the ways of constructing elite identity. As I argue more fully elsewhere,[18] the sociopolitical rationale behind the radical separation of wine drinking and eating was, among other things, lowering the economic threshold for those aspiring to establish their elite status in feasting. Beginning from the second half of the ninth century, they no longer needed to have access to large herds of cattle to feast in a conspicuous manner, distributing large quantities of meat to their potential supporters or their social peers. The mechanisms of social advancement were facilitated in the symposion which focused on wine drinking and was largely based on the 'cultural capital' showcased and practiced by the diners. Thus grew the concomitant importance of cultural skills, such as the ability to perform elegant convivial poetry, attested already in the second half of the eighth century.

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18 Wecowski 2014, *passim*, esp. 74–78 and 328.

From this point of view, fifth-century gastronomy was a game changer in Greek social history and in particular in the history of Greek elites.[19] The luxurious cushions and textiles we see on Archaic and Classical vases should not make us forget that the actual costs of organizing symposia could not have been frightfully high: highly trained personnel were not required and the cost of wine, usually diluted with water, could be kept under control. Meanwhile, since the late fifth century, with the growing importance of the *deipnon*, to entertain one's guests in a proper manner one needed to commission professional cooks, and also have access to the technical base of gastronomic activity as well as the ability to import an array of rare goods to be processed for food: the variety of sophisticated dishes constituted the true value of the meal.

The traditional ideology and practice of the symposion was based on equality among the diners and on the reciprocity of their mutual relations as one symposiast after another could entertain their friends at home taking turns. The costly dinner in the new era of Greek gastronomy would naturally turn this egalitarian gathering into 'patron-role feasting,' to use one of the categories introduced by Michael Dietler.[20] Similarly, hiring a famous performer excelling in New Music to entertain one's guests at a symposion was expensive. Incidentally, the aforementioned Hellenistic dining rooms, much bigger than Classical *andrones*, would logically favor a similar type of social relation between the host and his guests.

Diagnosing the Change

To be sure, the cultural changes that deeply affected the Classical symposion can be defined in a more general way as they have a direct bearing on its social and political aspect as well. Among the important functions of the Archaic symposion, that of socializing aristocratic youth into the elite ethos and into practical skills needed in public life, has been interestingly studied by Pauline Schmitt Pantel.[21] The symposion as a hub of the aristocratic *paideia* could not have been unaffected by the impact of sophistic education since the last quarter of the fifth century. Their specialized teaching of rhetoric and of political skills broadly speaking tended to undermine the appeal of the symposion where traditional values and traditional competences were taught, when

19 On ancient Greek food and gastronony in general, see Dalby 1996, esp. 57–151.

20 Dietler and Hayden 2001.

21 Schmitt Pantel 1990.

the father or another male kin brought his son or another young relative to adult symposia to learn from witty conversations and competitive exchanges between the symposiasts. These skills could now be bought on the market, so to say, in a better, more fashionable, and most importantly more efficacious version, with the result that the traditional ways of aristocratic socialization at symposia were progressively losing ground.

Yet more can be added. The Archaic and early Classical symposion played an important role in the traditional *paideia* not only as a forum of education and socialization of young aristocrats. It was also one of the important loci of Greek thought and of early Greek philosophy. Some of the dilettante poets among the diners were sometimes considered true authorities or even wise men, and their teaching, often set in elegiac verse, consisted of serious attempts at problematizing the human condition, of the nature of the gods and their attitude toward humans, and most often of moral traps awaiting men. Such poets included Solon, Phoklides, Xenophanes, or Theognis. As such, the symposion was an important vehicle of a time-honored poetic wisdom-tradition that we may call *Hypothekai*, or *Counsels*, as Isokrates did in his *Letter to Nikokles* (42–44).[22] The fate of this wisdom-tradition and thus of the early 'philosophical' function of the symposion was sealed by the time Plato and Xenophon conceived the grand literary form of the philosophical *Symposion*, and it is no coincidence that in the passage of his *Protagoras* quoted above, Plato targeted not only the shameful tastes of those indulging in the performances of female musicians, but also criticized the intellectual attachment to the tradition of discussing time-honored poetry in a convivial context. But this Archaic tradition had already been undermined by the sophists who from this point of view can additionally be seen as forerunners of the process of "cultural differentiation" and specialization of a previously nonspecialized culture in which poets served as advisors of their respective communities and of the Greek public at large.

As Robert W. Wallace has shown, this traditional culture was well-integrated and homogeneous still in the mid-fifth century, but subject to a profound "fragmentation" thereafter, with its different lines evolving separately.[23] From a different perspective, this process was dubbed "the great turnabout" by Benedetto Bravo in 2009.[24] A significant process thereof was a 'differentiation of cultural roles' separating writers from their public. Not unimportantly, philosophical and at times scientific or scholarly activity took the place of poetry as the pri-

22 In general, cf. the classic paper by Friedländer 1913.

23 Wallace 1995.

24 Bravo 2009.

mary sphere of intellectual pursuit for those striving to explore the human condition and the world around them. It looks like the symposion as a cultural phenomenon was dying alongside this traditional culture. Moreover, the new cultural milieu was no longer dominated by those defining themselves as aristocrats, but by the so-called *mesoi politai*, or the 'middling citizens' of well-to-do status, politically active in their respective communities, whose primary intellectual and political tools were provided by the art of rhetoric. In this new 'rhetorical-political' culture, as Bravo calls it, there was no room for the symposion properly speaking as a foremost cultural venue. The rather unsympathetic Athenian politician Kritias, Plato's uncle and a proud aristocrat, was perhaps the last great representative of the previous cultural tradition and his sympotic poems, moralistic and erudite at the same time, round it off at the dawn of this new era of Athenian culture.

Conclusions

As I mentioned at the outset of this article, my definition of the symposion emphasized its function as a forum of natural selection of Greek aristocracy. I would argue that this function was the crucial societal role of the symposion and that it was responsible for the remarkable durability of the lifestyle on which the symposion was based. Moreover, this function perfectly suited the needs of Greek aristocracy, both in terms of a relatively persistent set of social ideals and in terms of important sociopolitical needs, despite the unquestionable local variations and changes and mutations of the symposion that must have happened along the way.

Kathleen Lynch has shown a dramatic increase in the number of drinking cups in the Athenian Agora just before roughly 500. Consequently, she suggests that "the increased participation in formal symposia at the end of the 6th century [...] may be an appropriation of elite social practices by the newly enfranchised" and she interprets this phenomenon as "the democratization of the symposium."[25] I would slightly change the emphasis here and speak rather of the ideological 'aristocratization' of the elites of the Athenian *dēmos* under democracy. As we can see in Aristophanes, the symposion never ceased to be perceived as an elite gathering, but the elites were different now and no one could prevent a successful Athenian citizen from social ascendency by hin-

25 Lynch 2011, 173 and 172, respectively.

dering his access to the prestigious wine-parties since the new Athenian elites organized the events themselves. To put it differently, the most ambitious segments of the Athenian *dēmos* now played the societal role formerly held by the broad group of *aristoi* in the Archaic period. Still present was a remarkable social mobility, often sanctioned by the inclusion of an individual in the luxurious symposia of his more powerful neighbors, at least to some extent. In Aristophanes as in Theognis of Megara in the previous century, complaints about the ambitions of the arrivistes can be found, although in Aristophanes's literary convention we naturally see them more clearly at symposia than in the moralistic and normative elegy of the Theognidean Corpus. To put it somewhat coarsely perhaps, this is how I understand the circumstances under which the aristocratic symposion not only survived but also flourished under the Athenian democracy.

In conclusion, the symposion progressively died out when its role as a culturally-oriented banquet could not be perpetuated due to the aforementioned changes in the cultural paradigm of the Greek elites. The fundamental weakness, so to speak, of the symposion was its very function as a desirable symbol of social prestige. In the new world evolving rapidly after the second half of the fourth century, the egalitarian and intimate banquet was no longer attractive to the aspirations of the most ambitious Greeks. Henceforward, their system of values was inspired by the majestic pleasures of the sumptuous banquets of Hellenistic kings.[26] But both trends that eventually undermined the position of the symposion—the cultural processes and the changes in the means of prestigious display—actually converged even earlier: the Macedonian court under the king Archelaus nearly monopolized the patronage of the most valued and most fashionable productions of New Music, with Timotheos, our Agathon, or Euripides residing in Pella; some of these figures participated in, or even organized, Archelaus's newly-established festival of *Olympia* in Dion.[27]

In this way, the symposion came full circle. Emerging around the mid-ninth century against the background of the 'patron-role feasting,' to use the Dietlerian term, or of the slightly less formalized and less stratified 'empowering feast' of the Early Iron Age, the Greek elite banquet ultimately returned to the world of powerful and commanding individuals striving for, consolidating, or celebrating their political position through having access to feasting. The five centuries of the symposion's history properly speaking may perhaps look like

26 In general, see Rolf Strootman in this volume.

27 Cf. Manuela Mari in this volume.

an interlude of sorts, but the cultural achievements of the symposion exemplify the unique importance of this institution.

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CHAPTER 11

The Return of the King: Civic Feasting and the Entanglement of City and Empire in Hellenistic Greece

Rolf Strootman

Introduction

In Ancient Greece, ritualized feasts were key venues for the negotiation of the social and political order within, and between, communities.[1] Archaeology and the Homeric tradition suggest that until the Archaic age, local 'big men' organized lavish feasts for their entourages and paid for sacrifices during public rites. These were feasts of the 'patronage type.' A single host presided over the banquet, and was able to increase his prestige and power by controlling access to the feast and demonstrating his generosity to his guests.

The nature of Greek feasting changed when in the course of the Archaic period the *basileis* (if that is indeed how they were called) disappeared from Greece. As Floris van den Eijnde shows in his contribution to this volume, from the eighth century divinities took over the role of mortal 'big men' as the principal patrons of communal feasting. The aristocratic banquet moved from the privately-owned palace to the semipublic sphere of the sanctuary, thus precluding the unbalanced accumulation of symbolic capital by the most wealthy.[2] Specifically in Athens during the Classical period, ritual sacrifice and the subsequent sacrificial feasting became the responsibility of the polis, culminating in, for instance, the long list of 'patrons' preserved on the fourth-century sacrificial calendar from the Marathonian Tetrapolis in Attika, discussed in this volume by Lambert: approximately four hundred citizens, about a third of the adult male population of the Tetrapolis deme, each contributed relatively small amounts of money in a collective effort to fund sacrifices.

By the end of the fourth century, kings returned to southern Greece. They came from abroad and were bigger men than many poleis had ever seen. To

1 See Van den Eijnde 2010, 17–24, and the introduction to this volume; cf. the essays collected in Wiessner and Schiefenhövel 1996 and Dietler and Hayden 2001.

2 The earliest known example of stone banqueting rooms, known, perhaps inaptly, as *andrōnes*, were found in sanctuaries (Morgan 2011, 274, with further literature; also see n. 21, below).

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be sure, in the past, most poleis in one way or another had felt the presence of the Persian Great Kings; but the Macedonian kings of the Hellenistic age were geographically closer. For the Achaemenids, Greece had been a more or less peripheral region that was only loosely incorporated in the international networks that constituted the Persian Empire. By contrast, for the Hellenistic kings Greece was a place of central importance and an important source of manpower. A second reason why in the Hellenistic period monarchs acquired a more prominent place in polis politics is that the Hellenistic world of empires was multipolar: three rival empires competed for the favor of the poleis, offering protection and autonomy in return for financial and military support. Maintaining good relationships with cities was vitally important for the practice of empire. Cities commanded the infrastructure and constituted the central markets where surpluses were collected and turned into cash, both of which were essential for the core business of imperial polities: war-making. At the Hellenistic courts, ritualized feasting was the core venue where interactions between the dynasty and local elites took place. Often associated with major religious festivals and the 'great events' of the court—the main dynastic rites of passage such as inaugurations, weddings, and anniversaries—the court feast facilitated power negotiation, highlighting status roles through ritualized action and gift exchange.[3] As was emphasized in the introduction to this volume, festive rituals and ritualized social behavior were assumed to put the sociopolitical order on display, and thereby facilitated the manipulation of sociopolitical relations and hierarchies. Dynastic courts, with their many internal conflicts and precarious power balances between various interest groups, were no exception.

As we will see, kings also infiltrated the Greek world of sacrificial feasting. Through direct and indirect participation in cultic activities, Macedonian kings gained footholds in polis communities, and thereby to some extent became members of those communities. This article aims to investigate how this worked. How did royal patrons succeed in acquiring a place in polis communities through feasting, despite two apparent complications: the fact that the Macedonian kings were not citizens of the poleis they visited and the fact that especially in the early Hellenistic Age a prodemocratic, antityrannical sentiment was widespread and powerful among the poleis?[4]

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3 On the centrality of ritualized feasting, viz., banqueting, at the courts of the Hellenistic empires see now Strootman 2014a, *passim*; cf. earlier 2007 and 2013a.

4 Teegarden 2013, 115–220; a vast body of literature on the persistence and spread of democracy in poleis during the third and second centuries has come into being in the past decades; see i.a., Gauthier 1993; Grieb 2008; Carlsson 2010.

Demetrios Poliorketes at Athens

The most striking instances of royal entries in the early Hellenistic period are Demetrios I Poliorketes's repeated visits to the city of Athens.[5] The entries of the Antigonid king (r. 306–285) into the city were sometimes hailed as divine epiphanies of sorts. Thus, when Demetrios entered Athens for the first time in 306, the spot where he descended from his chariot and first touched Athenian soil was later consecrated as sacred ground: an altar was erected on it, dedicated to *Demetrios Kataibatos*, "Demetrios the Descended [God]," an epithet of Zeus.[6] For the occasion of a later advent, in 291/290, the controversial Ithyphallic Hymn to Demetrios was composed by the poet Hermokles and sung by the Athenians to welcome the king. In the hymn, Demetrios is praised as a god manifest whose presence strikes the people simultaneously with awe and joy, as a true god would.[7]

More relevant for the present argument are two other visits the king made to Athens. The first took place in June 304. On this occasion Demetrios drove off a garrison imposed by Kassandros, and declared the polis to be henceforth autonomous and free. The Athenians thereupon bestowed on the king an exceptional honor: they offered him the *opisthodomos*, the back room of the Parthenon, for his quarters, as the *xenos* of the goddess Athena herself.[8] Plutarch's rather negative account suggests that feasting took place on the Akropolis under the auspices of the king.[9] The second royal visit pertinent to the present discussion occurred in the spring of 302, when Demetrios returned to Athens from Corinth, where had refounded the Hellenic League. The king asked to be initiated into the mysteries of Eleusis. This normally would require him to be first admitted to the Lesser Mysteries in the month of Anthesterion,

5 The best comprehensive discussion of Demetrios's various visits to Athens is Habicht 1999, 87–97. The remarkable honors he received on these occasions are described in detail by Plutarch (*Demetr*. 10.1–4; cf. 12.1–4 and 13.1–2). For recent discussions, see Mikalson 1998, 94–97; Kralli 2000; Thonemann 2005; Versnel 2011, 444–456; Holton 2013; Strootman 2014a, 241–243.

6 Plut. *Demetr*. 10.4: καθιερώσαντες καὶ βωμὸν ἐπιθέντες Δημητρίου Καταιβάτου προσηγόρευσαν. The altar's location is unknown.

7 For the text of the hymn, Douris *FGrH* 76 F 13, *ap*. Ath. 6.253b–f; cf. Demochares *FGrH* 75 F 2.

8 The episode of Demetrios's stay in the Parthenon is recorded in Plut. *Demetr*. 23.3–24.1 and 26.3, cf. Diod. 20.100.5–6. On the function and status of the *opisthodomos*, see Hurwit 1999, 143–144; Hollinshead 1999.

9 Plut. *Demetr*. 23.3, far too keenly accuses Demetrios of organizing unholy orgies in the temple of the virgin goddess. This topos is also found in 2 Macc. 6.4.

the eighth month of the Athenian year, and subsequently gain admittance to the Greater Mysteries only in the third month of the next year, Boedromion. But the king was in a hurry. In Anatolia, war against Seleukos had begun. Following a motion proposed by a local *philos* of the king, Stratokles, the current month, Munychion, was temporarily renamed Anthesterion so that the king might be initiated into the Lesser Mysteries. Thereafter, the same month was renamed Boedromion so that the king could be initiated into the Greater Mysteries as well. Finally, the month became Munychion again.[10] As we will see below, a probable manipulation of the dates of the Isthmian Games to permit the timely arrival of the Macedonian king Antigonos Doson in 222 suggests that Demetrios's participation in the cult at Eleusis was not as extravagant and singular as Plutarch suggests.[11]

Apparently, civic and sacred rules could be changed when the extraordinary presence of a monarch required it. What happened when imperial rulers visited poleis in the early Hellenistic period? I will argue that it was not only through ruler cult and bestowing honors, but also through the direct participation of the ruler in polis (or *koinon*) cult(s) that 'global' empire could be given a place in local civic society. I furthermore argue that, consequently, the religious sphere

10 Philochoros *FGrH* 328 F 69–70; Diod. 20.110.1; Plut. *Demetr.* 26.1–5; cf. Habicht 1997, 79.

11 Compare also Alexander's alleged alteration of ritual time at Delphi on the eve of the Asian campaign: according to Plutarch, Alexander arrived at Delphi at an inauspicious period, "when it is not proper to deliver oracles." When Alexander nonetheless demanded the presence of the Pythia, she duly refused and sent word that the law forbade her to consult the deity. Alexander however entered the sanctuary, went up to the temple, and threatened the prophetess to drag her to the sacred tripod himself. Thereupon the prophetess, "as if overcome by his zeal, cried out, 'You are invincible, my son!' On hearing this, Alexander said he desired no further prophecy, as she had given him the oracle he wanted" (Plut. *Alex.* 14.4; cf. Diod. 17.93.4). On the historicity of this story—at first sight a rather suspicious conflation of disparate elements—see now O'Sullivan 2015, acknowledging as kernel of truth a probable confirmation by the oracle, some years later and in Alexander's absence, of the king's quasi-divine status of being ἀνίκητος, "unconquered." O'sullivan moreover argues persuasively that Plutarch's narrative goes back to an authentic piece of Argead propaganda, fabricated at Alexander's own court, that deliberately echoed a well-known myth about Herakles, Alexander's ancestor and principal model: Herakles, who not coincidentally is the first for whom the epithet Anikētos has been recorded (Tyrtaios *fr.* 11 West; cf. O'sullivan 2015, 39), likewise enforced the pronouncement of an oracle from Apollo after having been denied access to the Delphic sanctuary (Apollod. 2.6.2; Hyg. *Fab.* 32; Diod. 4.31.5; Paus. 10.13.8). Alexander campaigned in central Greece in the late summer of 335 (Bosworth 1993, 32–33); it is plausible that he visited Delphi later that year when after the sack of Thebes he marched back to Macedon to prepare for the invasion of Asia Minor in the spring of 334.

provided the contact zone where interactions between civic elite and imperial court took place. Sacrificial ritual and the subsequent sacrificial banqueting will be central to the argument. The focus will be on the poleis of the third to early second century, when several kings—Kassandros, Pyrrhos, Antigonos II, Demetrios II, Antigonos III, Philip V, Antiochos III—campaigned with their armies in mainland Greece. I will begin with a discussion of the centralized court feast. Then I will discuss evidence for the kings' partaking in Greek polis religion, and argue that Hellenistic *basileis* thereby aimed to appropriate the role of patrons of polis communities. Finally, I will broaden the geographical scope and present a brief comparison with sources pertaining to the religious participation of Macedonian rulers in non-Greek cities in the wider Hellenistic world, particularly the Middle East under Seleukid rule.

Itinerant Kings in a World Full of Poleis

We should not take for granted that the overlordship of the Hellenistic empires meant that poleis were completely subordinated to their power. Even in Asia Minor, in the heyday of Seleukid power under Antiochos III, cities only rarely lost their ability to negotiate their position vis-à-vis the imperial dynasty. In mainland Greece, the three competing empires of the Seleukids, Ptolemies, and Antigonids exerted even less direct influence on the poleis. The cities, although autonomous, nevertheless were tied up in an international web of interconnectivity controlled mostly by the empires. The entanglement of city and empire in the Hellenistic world was a complicated one. Premodern empires—huge, culturally and politically heterogeneous systems of control—typically were negotiated enterprises.

The courts of the Seleukids and Ptolemies consisted in large part of *philoi* recruited from Greek or Hellenized poleis around the Aegean.[12] *Philoi* of kings were located also in the cities, which were mostly autonomous polities. Together, these royal *philoi* were the main agents of empire in the world of the poleis and the principal brokers in what was essentially a personalized network of reciprocal exchange, based on kinship and ritualized friendship.[13] We already encountered Stratokles, the Athenian friend of Demetrios who proposed the

12 On royal *philoi* as intermediaries between empire and city, see Herman 1980/1981; Carsana 1996; Savalli-Lestrade 1998; Paschidis 2008 and 2013; Strootman 2011a; 2013a; 2014a, 117–131. On ritualized friendship (*philia*, *xenia*, *philoxenia*) in Ancient Greece, see Herman 1987; Konstan 1997.

13 Strootman 2018b.

decree to temporarily modify the Attic calendar. In Livy (36.11.8), we find a typical case: when Antiochos III visited the city of Stratos in central Greece, "a leading Akarnanian, named Mnasilochos, who had been given many gifts, won over the people to the king's side by his own exertions." A case in point, too, is Herodoros of Lampsakos (or Kyzikos), a *philos* of Demetrios Poliorketes, who had brokered a favorable peace between Athens and Demetrios. Herodoros was granted Athenian citizenship, free meals in the Prytaneion for the rest of his life, and a bronze statue in the Agora.[14] In other words, rather than being antagonists, there was a high degree of entanglement of polis and monarchy in the Hellenistic period.

One tool kings employed to bind members of local elites to the dynasty was the court. The court was the central hub where the monarchy met the various civic elites and provincial aristocracies within the empire, a contact zone where power relations were negotiated.[15] I have elsewhere dealt more extensively with the question of how courts were instrumental in creating political cohesion in the Hellenistic empires,[16] and a brief summary will suffice to make the point.

Most Hellenistic courts had the ability, even the necessity, to move. The Argead, Antigonid, and Seleukid rulers typically managed their empires from mobile centers of power.[17] There were no fixed capitals.[18] The itinerant dynastic court can be seen as a mechanism aimed at achieving political control and imperial integration. The presence of the king, his court, and often his army in various places, served both to demarcate imperial space and to integrate territories and peoples into the imperial system.[19] At the same time, representatives of local interest groups gravitated toward the court for the celebration of certain great events. These events were mainly the major rites of passage of the dynastic household, such as inaugurations, royal weddings, birth celebrations, and also (annual) dynastic festivals. The key meeting place of these

14 IG II^2 646; see the discussion by Habicht 1999, 87–88, suggesting that these rare honors compelled the Athenians to bestow even greater honors on Demetrios himself; on free meals in the Prytaneion, see the contribution by Blok and Van 't Wout in this volume.

15 Asch 1991, 4; Duindam 1995, 92.

16 See e.g., Strootman 2007; 2011b; 2013a; 2013b; 2014a.

17 Strootman 2007, 54–80; 2013a; Kosmin 2014.

18 Held 2002; Martinez-Sève 2004.

19 Geertz 1977; Colburn and Hughes 2010; for the significance of mobile cores in the Hellenistic empires, see Strootman 2011b and 2013a; cf. the remarks by Hekster and Fowler 2005 on the importance of visibility and face-to-face communication in premodern monarchical empires.

festive occasions was the court feast.[20] This significance is reflected by Macedonian palatial architecture of the early Hellenistic period, in which banqueting rooms, grouped around open courtyards, formed the basic constituents.[21] Ritualized gift exchange at festive occasions was the foundation of the sociopolitical interaction and negotiation at the Hellenistic courts.[22] Perhaps in contrast to the great banquets of the Achaemenid kings, which are often seen as primarily loci for the redistribution of centrally collected tribute,[23] the court feasts of the Hellenistic kings were of the patronage type, and reciprocal exchange played a key role in it. At the heart of the feast usually was the sacrifice. Providing for the offerings enabled the king to show his wealth and act as one who nourishes his guests (and, by extension, his troops). Lavish sacrificial feasts have been recorded for the Ptolemaic and Seleukid courts.[24] During one well-recorded instance, a new year festival at Daphne in Syria in ca. 166/165, Antiochos IV provided ten hecatombs of sacrificial oxen, against a mere 300 cows collectively paid for by the various sacred embassies sent to Syria by the poleis of Greece and Asia Minor.[25] En route, smaller sacrificial meals probably were an

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20 Borza 1983 and 1990, 241–242; Murray 1996 (suggesting Persian influence); Strootman, 2007, 326–330; 2014a, 188–191; Mari, this volume. The court feast was not only a meeting place of monarchy and (civic) ambassadors; the court feast also facilitated 'horizontal' interactions between elite families from disparate poleis.

21 Tomlinson 1970; Hoepfner 1996; Nielsen 1998; the best example is the Antigonid palace at Vergina/Aigai, see Nielsen 1994, 81–84, with further literature. Also see the excellent discussion of the royal feasting house at Labraunda by Williamson 2013, 144–152. Usually named *andrōn* in modern literature, the connection of such rooms with the sympotic male sociability known from textual evidence is uncertain (Morgan 2011).

22 Strootman, 2007, 129–167; 2014a, 152–159.

23 See the overview in Capdetrey 2013, with further literature; cf. Lion 2013, 121–123. I have considerable doubts about the established understanding of gift distribution at the Achaemenid court as a predominantly economic function ('redistribution'), a view that to my mind is both modernist and out-of-date. Written evidence suggests that the Persian court, like the Hellenistic courts, rather was an intricate, quasi-informal system in which ritualized gift exchange was a means to establish authority and sociopolitical relationships both within the household and in the empire at large; but focused research into the Persian networks and dynamics of empire informed by recent historical approaches to premodern empires is still lacking. The feasts of the Achaemenid court are discussed most recently by Llewellyn-Jones 2013; cf. the forthcoming survey of narrative sources for the Achaemenid practice of royal banqueting by Hollman and Wright, preliminarily online at academia.edu.

24 See esp. Polyb. 30.25–26 and Kallixeinos, *FHG* III 58 = *FGrH* 627 F 2 *ap*. Ath. 5.196–203.

25 Polyb. 30.25.12–19 *ap*. Ath. 5.195a–c; the subsequent sacrificial feast is described in Polyb.

recurring event, as in the case recorded by Polybios, during Philip V's march through Aetolia in 218:

> Philip pitched his camp early in the day, and proceeded to make a thank offering to the gods for the successful issue of his undertaking; and to invite the officers, wishing to be a host to them all.[26]

In sum, the itinerant court with its ritualized modes of behavior had two integrative qualities. First, the great events and royal feasts of the court attracted local representatives to the imperial center. Second, the court itself moved toward local nodes, where the ceremonial entry of king and court into a city, and the participation of the king in cultic activities, connected the local and the global.

Let the Right One in: Kings as Guests in Poleis

Immediately after the 'liberation' of Greece from Antigonid hegemony in 287, Pyrrhos of Epeiros, one of the victors in the coalition war against Demetrios Poliorketes (288–287), toured the country. Plutarch reports that

> [Pyrrhos] went to the help of the Greeks and entered Athens. Here he went up to the Akropolis and sacrificed to the goddess, then came down again on the same day, and told the people he was well pleased with the confidence which they had shown him, but that in the future, if they were wise, they would not admit one of the kings into their city nor open their gates to him.[27]

The gravitational powers of the court were complemented by its ability to move. Just as civic ambassadors who were the king's guests participated in the

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30.26; cf. Diod. 31.16–17; see Strootman 2018a for an attempt at analyzing the sacrificial ritual and ritualized feasting at the Daphne Festival.

26 Polyb. 5.14.8; trans. Shuckburgh with adjustments: ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος καταστρατοπεδεύσας ἐν ὥρᾳ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔθυεν εὐχαριστήρια τῆς γεγενημένης αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν εὐροίας, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐκάλει, βουλόμενος ἑστιᾶσαι πάντας. Also see Livy 40.24.5; Polyb. 5.39.

27 Plut. *Pyrrh.* 12.4: ἐβοήθει τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ παρῆλθεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἀναβὰςδὲ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ θύσας τῇ θεῷ καὶ καταβὰς αὐθημερὸν ἀγαπᾶν μὲνἔφησε τοῦ δήμου τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνοιαν καὶ πίστιν, ἂν μέντοι σωφρονῶσιμηδένα τῶν βασιλέων ἔτι παρήσειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν μηδὲ τὰς πύλαςἀνοίξειν; for the date consult Habicht 1999, 124–125.

rituals and feasts of the court, so did kings who visited cities participate in local cultic activities. It is well-established that the ceremonial entry of a king into a city was a key ritual of Hellenistic monarchy throughout the eastern Mediterranean.[28] In this paragraph, I argue that in mainland Greece, kings attempted to act as patrons of local sacrifices and communal feasting, even when such feasting still took place in the semipublic sphere of the sanctuary.

Hellenistic kings, the Antigonids above all, often were personally present during the many wars that raged in southern Greece between the death of Alexander in 323 and the final imposition of Roman hegemony around 150.[29] In what follows, I will discuss the evidence that is most pertinent to the present argument. In particular, we are relatively well-informed with regard to the Greek campaigns of Philip V and Antiochos III between 220 and 190. Thus we read in Polybios that when in 215 Philip V approached Messene

> He told the magistrates of that city that he wished to visit the place to offer a sacrifice to Zeus. He went up to the akropolis with his entourage and sacrificed, and [then], as is the custom, the entrails of the slaughtered victim were given to him.[30]

Because Polybios claims that the request to sacrifice initially was a stratagem to capture the citadel of Messene—Philip was eventually dissuaded from betraying the trust of the Messenians by his counsellor Aratos of Sikyon—this passage can be taken to present the king's leading role in performing offerings in the city's main sanctuary as a normal and accepted procedure. We do not know if Philip provided (or funded) the sacrificial offerings.

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28 For the ritual of welcome, see L. Robert in *BCH* 108 (1984) 479–486, and Robert in *Hellenica* 11/12 (1960) 126–131; on royal entries, see further Jones 1992; Perrin-Saminadayar 2009; Strootman 2007, 289–305; 2013b; 2014a, 233–241.

29 The major conflicts involving the presence of kings with their armies in mainland Greece were the war between Pyrrhos and Gonatas (274–272), the Chremonidean War (267–261), the Revolt of Alexandros (250–247), the Demetrian War (ca. 238/7–229), the Achaian-Spartan War, or the War against Kleomenes (224–222), the War of the Allies (or Social War, 220–217), the First Macedonian War (215–205), the Second Macedonian War (200–197), the Seleukid invasion of Greece (192–191), and the Third Macedonian War (171–168).

30 Polyb. 7.12.1, trans. Shuckburgh with minor adjustments: ὅτι Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως Μακεδόνων τὴν τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἀκρόπολιν κατασχεῖν βουλομένου, καὶ φήσαντος βούλεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς προεστῶτας τῆς πόλεως θεάσασθαι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ θῦσαι τῷ Διί, ἀναβάντος μετὰ τῆς θεραπείας καὶ θύοντος, μετὰ ταῦτα κατὰ τὸν ἐθισμὸν ἐκ τῶν τυθέντων ἱερείων προσενεχθέντων αὐτῷ τῶν σπλάγχνων; on this event also see Plut. *Arat.* 49–50, esp. 50.2–3.

When Attalos I Soter approached Athens in 200, he was beckoned in by the magistrates and the people:

> The Athenians, hearing that he would soon arrive, made a most generous grant for the reception and the entertainment of the king, [who] went up to Athens in great state accompanied by […] the Athenian archons. For not only all the archons and the knights, but all the citizens with their wives and children went out to meet him. As he entered the Dipylon Gate, they drew up the priests and priestesses on either side of the road. After this they threw all the temples open, brought offerings to all the altars, and begged him to perform sacrifice. Lastly they voted him such honors as they had never readily paid to any former benefactors. For in addition to other distinctions they named one of the tribes Attalis after him and they added his name to the list of the eponymous heroes of the tribes. [Then] they summoned the *ekklēsia* and invited the king to attend.[31]

Sanctuaries with panhellenic status, too, provided opportunities for sacrifice and feasting. In 191, Antiochos III, traveling from Chalkis to Naupaktos, gave offerings to Apollo at Delphi.[32] In 218, Philip V, "the darling (ἐρώμενος) of Greece," as he was then still called,[33] after defeating a marauding army of Eleans, sacrificed to Zeus at Olympia and invited his friends to a sacrificial banquet.[34] Here the institution of the court feast, *organized* by the monarchy, and the institutionalized religious festivals *attended* by the king and his entourage merged.

Travels of Antigonid Kings in Greece (224–209)

In the above cited passage about Attalos Soter's visit to Athens, the ceremonial welcome of the king and the invitation to perform sacrifice were concluded with an invitation to attend a meeting of the assembly. The king thus entered the two principal, connected, institutions of the sovereign polis community: public religion and the political sphere. The appearance of the king in an assembly or council seems to have been a regular element in the recep-

31 Polyb. 16.25.3–26.1; trans. Paton.

32 Livy 36.11.6.

33 Polyb. 7.11.8.

34 Polyb. 4.73.3.

tion of monarchs. In 224, during the coalition war against Kleomenes of Sparta, Antigonos III Doson marched his army from Megalopolis to Aigion, Achaia, where at that time the annual meeting of the council of the Achaian League was in session, awaiting his arrival:

> He gave the council a report on the operations he had undertaken and agreed with them on the arrangements for the future conduct of the war. The council appointed him commander-in-chief of all the allied forces, and he then moved his army to winter quarters near Sikyon and Corinth.[35]

When Doson's successor, Philip V, in his turn visited the meeting of the Achaian League at Sikyon in 218, he and his principal *philoi* were invited to stay in the houses of the archons.[36] In 220, Philip V presided over the annual meeting of the council of the Aitolians and addressed the delegates at length, after which the council voted to renew, through Philip, "their friendly relations with the kings, his ancestors."[37] In 200, at the start of the Second Macedonian War, Philip V was in the Peloponnese again. Leaving his army behind in the vicinity of Corinth, the king travelled to Argos to attend again the annual meeting of the Achaian council, delivering a speech and asking for troops. The king's proposal, however, was rejected.[38] Finally, the Seleukid king Antiochos III after a tour through Boiotia, finally arrived at Thebes where he gave a speech before the council of the Boiotian League.[39] It is clear that in order to appear before the assembled council of a *koinon*, rigid planning and communication were required.

As we saw above, Antigonos Doson in 224 attended the annual meeting of the council of the Achaian League, which appointed him hegemon of the allied forces assembled against Kleomenes of Sparta. After defeating the reformer Kleomenes in battle at Sellasia in 222, Antigonos restored Sparta's "ancient," oligarchic constitution and marched on to Tegea, where he restored the ancient constitution, too. Two days later he arrived in Argos, just in time for the celebration of the Nemean Games:

> As it was, Antigonos after going to Tegea and restoring its constitution, arrived on the second day at Argos, at the very time of the Nemean games.

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35 Polyb. 2.54.3–4; trans. Scott-Kilvert.

36 Polyb. 5.27.3.

37 Polyb. 4.14.6–7 and 4.25.8.

38 Livy 31.25.

39 App. *Syr.* 11.3.13; Livy 36.6.1–5.

> Having at this assembly received every mark of immortal honor and glory at the hands of the Achaean community, as well as of the several states, he made all haste to reach Macedonia.[40]

Close scrutiny of the sequence of events during Doson's Peloponnesian campaign strongly suggests that the beginning of the games had been manipulated to allow for the king's timely arrival at Argos.[41] Antigonos's successor, Philip V, attended the Nemean Games at least two times, in 217 and 209.[42] In sum, it is likely that the continual movements of the Antigonid kings and their entourages through Greece not only were determined by logistic and military logic, but also took festival calendars into account, just as the Seleukids quite clearly did while moving between the cities and sanctuaries of the Near East.[43]

The Greek Tour of Antiochos the Great (192–191)

Until now we have discussed mostly Antigonid rulers. Another, important, case in point is the presence of the Seleukid king Antiochos III the Great in central Greece between 192 and 191. Mainly through diplomacy, Antiochos, with the help of a small army, wove a web of alliances to prepare for a closer integration of mainland Greece into the Seleukid imperial network. He set up court in Chalkis, one of the 'Fetters of Greece,' while also building new fortifications at Demetrias for future military operations.[44] But already prior to the king's arrival, ties between the Seleukid Empire and the poleis of the Greek mainland had been strengthened.[45] After his arrival, the king dispatched messengers to invite the leaders of the Aitolians to a conference at Demetrias,[46] sent his own representatives to the council of the Achaian League at Aigion,[47] and himself

40 Polyb. 2.70.4.

41 H. Mitsos ap. Buraselis 2013, 183 n. 54; I owe this reference to Manuela Mari. The Nemean Games had come under Argive control, presumably with the support of Kassandros, and had been relocated to Argos in ca. 270, perhaps with the consent of Antigonos Gonatas (Buraselis 2013; cf. Mari 2013).

42 Polyb. 5.101.5–6; Livy 27.30; cf. Buraselis 2013, 183.

43 Strootman 2013b; on royal entries into cities in the Hellenistic world beyond Greece, see Strootman 2014a, 233–241.

44 Winter 1971, 277 with n. 31.

45 Habicht 1989, 10–21.

46 Livy 36.6.6.

47 Livy 35.48.1–9.

attended the council of the Boiotians at Thebes.[48] Even when his troops were in winter quarters and the king stayed in Chalkis, Antiochos, as Livy writes, "was not disposed to remain idle [...] In canvassing support for his cause among the cities, he sometimes took the initiative by sending representatives, while in other cases delegations from the states came to him of their own accord."[49] This coherent report is totally at odds with Livy's and Polybios's more novelistic accounts of how the fifty-year old king fell madly in love with a local girl, a daughter of the Euboian citizen Kleoptolemos;[50] and how he spent the winter of 192/191 celebrating his nuptials "in complete forgetfulness of the magnitude of the two tasks he had simultaneously undertaken, the war with Rome and the liberation of Greece."[51] The marriage more likely was a political matrimony of sorts, connecting the Seleukid house with an elite family of the strategic city of Chalkis, the Seleukid base for operations in central Greece.[52] The festivities celebrating the king's marriage moreover were instrumental in attracting representatives of cities to the imperial court at Chalkis, and in creating a proper occasion for lavish feasting and ritualized gift exchange. The next spring, Antiochos continued his diplomatic work. He marched westward along the northern coastline of the Corinthian Gulf to meet again with the Aitolian leaders, and proceeded to Akarnania, where he visited several cities.[53] A Roman army finally drove him out of Greece.

The Wider Hellenistic World

The source material for mainland Greece can with some caution be complemented by material from the wider Hellenistic world. In accounts from the east, upon entering cities, kings are often hailed as victorious liberators ushering in a Golden Age of peace and prosperity.[54] Sacrificing to local deities is

48 App. *Syr.* 11.3.13 and Livy 36.6.1–5; cf. Livy 36.12.1–6.

49 Livy 36.5.1, trans. Bettenson; cf. Polyb. 20.1.1–3.

50 Livy 36.11.1–2; Polyb. 20.8.1–5; cf. Diod. *fr.* xxix.

51 Polyb. 20.8.3.

52 The political significance of the wedding was emphasized by the fact that the bride was renamed Euboia upon her marriage. Political polygamy in the style of Philip II remained a common practice among the Macedonian dynasties of the Hellenistic age, see Ogden 1999; for the practice of renaming royal women upon marriage (and other rites of passage) see Carney 2000.

53 Livy 36.11–12.

54 For Golden Age imagery in Hellenistic royal ideology, see Strootman, 2014b.

almost always the key action performed by the visiting king.[55] This paragraph discusses the two best-documented cases of imperial–local interaction in the Hellenistic Near East: Jerusalem and Babylon.

Paying homage by sacrificing to the local deity is a recurring theme in stories about Macedonian kings visiting Jerusalem. Josephus's account of Alexander the Great's visit to Jerusalem in 332 may or may not be a fable. It does however give us a valuable clue about normal procedures for royal visits to eastern cities.[56] Josephus relates how first the citizens, led by the priests of Yahweh, in festive clothing left the city gates in procession to welcome Alexander and invite him into the city. Alexander thereafter "entered the Temple and made a burnt offering to God, at the instruction of the priests."[57] Whether Alexander really visited Jerusalem remains an open question, but it is likely that the procedure described by Josephus is a local variant of a more genuine Hellenistic practice.[58] This practice seems to be the case, too, with a story recorded by Agatharchides of Knidos, in which the people of Jerusalem opened the gates for Ptolemy Soter when he requested to perform sacrifice on the Temple Mount.[59] And when, much later, Antiochos IV Epiphanes entered the Temple together with the Judean high priest Menelaos—described as sacrilege in 2 Maccabees—the real aim likely was to sacrifice to Yahweh, too.[60] According to the same source, Antiochos Epiphanes had on another occasion, in 172, made

55 The principal evidence is collected and discussed in Strootman 2007, 289–305.

56 Jos., *AJ* 11.326–339. There are also several Talmudic stories relating to the encounter, see Gruen 1998, 190 with n. 2.

57 Jos., *AJ* 11.326–336.

58 Compare Polybios's account of Attalos's reception at Athens, cited above, to Alexander's *adventus* into Babylon as described by Arr. *Anab.* 3.16.3–4 and confirmed by the Babylonian Chronicle BM 36761; or the *Gourob Papyrus*, a Ptolemaic propaganda text describing the victorious entry of Ptolemy III into Seleukeia-in-Pieria and Antioch in 146 (*FGrH* II b no. 160; for a translation of the relevant passages see Jones 1992, 101). On Alexander's visit to Jerusalem, see now Belenkiy 2005, arguing that the story was based on the entry into Jerusalem of Antiochos the Great in 199.

59 Jos., *AJ* 12.4. It turned out to be a trick to capture the city. The same stratagem is attributed to Philip V at Messene (Polyb. 7.12.1) and Antiochos IV in Elymais (2 Macc. 1.13–14).

60 2 Macc. 5.11–16; cf. 1 Macc. 1.20–25. The accusation that a temple is desecrated by the responsible, native priests is hardly credible, especially when this accusation is made in a political pamphlet aimed at legitimizing in retrospect the violent usurpation of the high priesthood by these priests' political enemies; of course, Antiochos may have desecrated the Temple in retaliation for a perceived revolt of Jerusalem on another occasion (Strootman 2006; cf. Honigman 2011).

a ceremonial entry into Jerusalem, likewise on the invitation of the high priest; he had been "splendidly received and held his advent under torchlight and shouts of acclamation."[61] The Seleukids had earlier sponsored the sanctuary of Jerusalem with gifts:

> Even the kings showed great respect for the temple in those days and even brought it expensive gifts. For example, Seleukos, the King of Asia, used to pay for the regular sacrifices with money from the taxes he collected.[62]

A similar picture emerges from the cuneiform evidence from Babylon. The so-called *Chronicle of Seleukos III* records for the year 224/223 how the Seleukid king provided for the offerings, and gave instruction to the *šatammu*, the high priest responsible for the Esagila sanctuary, for the performance of the *akītu* rituals in his absence:[63]

3 […] That month […] a certain Babylonian, the *šatammu* of Esagila, provided
4 [for the x] x of Esagila, at the command of the king, in accordance with the parchment letter that the king had sent before,
5 [wit]h money from the royal treasury from his own estate 11 fat oxen, 100 fat sheep
6 (and) 11 fat ducks for the food offering within Esagila,
7 for Bēl, Bēltia,[64] and the great gods and [f]or the ritual of Ki[ng] Se[leu]kos
8 and his sons. The portions of the oxen and the sacrificial animals aforementioned
9 he designated /to\ the lamentation priests and the šatammu. […]

Direct, physical participation of Seleukid kings in Babylonian cult is documented i.a. in the *Chronicle of Antiochos and Sin* (BCHP 5), a cuneiform tablet recording a visit of Seleukos I's son and co-ruler, Antiochos I, to Babylon in ca. 287. Lines 6–12 describe how king Antiochos makes offerings in two temples of the moon god Sin:

61 2 Macc. 4.21–22.
62 2 Macc. 3.2–3.
63 *ABC* 13B = *BCHP* 12, ll. 3'–9'; trans. Finkel.
64 Lit. "Lord" and "Lady," i.e., Marduk and his wife Sarpanitum/Erûa.

6 [Year . . , month . .]. That month, the 20th day, Antiochos, the [crown] prince,[65]
7 [entered Babylon. Day 2]7, [they moved] the animals to the [east (or: west)] side (of the river) to outside regions/for putting out to pasture.
8 [Month . . , . .]th [day], the crown prince at the instruction of a certain Bab[ylonian]
9 [performed] regular [offerings] for Sin of Egišnugal and Sin of Enit[enna].
10 [Antiocho]s, the son of the king, [entered] the temple of Sin of Egišnugal and in the tem[ple of Sin of Enitenna]
11 [and the s]on of the king aforementioned prostrated himself. The son of the king [provided] one sheep for the offering
12 [of Sin and he bo]wed down in the temple of Sin, Egišnugal, and in the temple of Sin, En[itenna].

The statement in line 8 obv. that Antiochos performed the offerings "at the instruction of a certain Babylonian," presumably the *šatammu*, forms an interesting parallel with 2 Maccabees 5.15, where the Judean high priest Menelaos accompanies Antiochos IV into the Temple, as well as Josephus's story of how Alexander offered sacrifice in the Temple "at the instruction of the priests" (see above).

There are furthermore several pieces of evidence indicating that Seleukid kings participated in some way or another in the Babylonian new year festival, *akītu*. Best-known is the so-called Antiochos Cylinder from Borsippa, in which king Antiochos I himself writes that he has performed a ritual associated with *akītu* in Borsippa on 20 Addaru 43 SE (March 27, 268), arriving in Babylonia in time for *akītu*, which began sometime later on the fourth day of Nisannu (March/April).[66] Such evidence shows that in our best-documented

65 Antiochos's status is given as Sumerian *DUMU LUGAL* = Akkadian *mar šarri* [*ša bît redûti*], "the son of the king [of the succession house"], i.e., a "crown prince"; this terminology is used to indicate that Antiochos was a co-ruler with the status of king, in tandem with his father, the senior king; because the Seleukid dynasty had no concept of an official *dauphin*, succession could be regulated by giving the title of *basileus* to a son prior to his father's death; this prevented succession strife upon the death of the senior king and had the additional benefit that there were two kings at the same time to keep the vast empire together. On co-rulership as a means to regulate succession see Strootman 2007, 111–114 and 296; cf. Van der Spek's commentary to l. 1 obv. of *BCHP* 5 at www.livius.org. Translation of this passage: Finkel and Van der Spek.

66 On the Cylinder see now Strootman 2013b; Kosmin 2014. It remains an open question whether the astronomical diary of 188/187 BCE according to which Antiochos put on "the

case in Seleukid Iraq, Babylon, civic religion provided the contact zone where empire and city interacted.[67]

Conclusion

In 2 Maccabees, we read that when Antiochos IV was in Tyre to celebrate the quadrennial festival in honor of Herakles-Melkart, emissaries of the Jerusalemite high priest Jason traveled to Tyre, bringing with them a gift of 300 silver drachms, and the explicit assignment to negotiate with the king about Jason's position. Here, a royal visit to a city takes place when a major festival takes place, attracting people from far beyond that city. Thus an important city-based festival has become an event of the court. This example takes us back to Greece and to the passage in Polybios describing Antigonos Doson's presence at the Nemean Games, as well as the other passages in Greek historiography that suggest that Hellenistic kings in their movements through the Greek landscape followed to some extent an international festival calendar, and embedded their court feasts in the context of Hellenic festivals.

There is rich evidence for the feasting, gift exchange, and status negotiations taking place during centralized festivities, namely sacrificial banquets, at the Hellenistic royal courts. The present state of the research, however, does not allow us yet to see in comparable detail the *local* sacrificial feasting taking place in cities under the patronage of kings. The fact that monarchs, albeit sporadically, returned to cities and made offerings to local gods cannot but mean that such feasting indeed took place, and this feasting was surely a key venue for negotiations between city and monarchy. It furthermore seems safe to conjecture that when a king and his court were present in a city, elite members and/or official representatives of other cities would travel to that city to negotiate with the court. This set-up would work even better when the religious event involved was an international festival. It is noteworthy that the two most lavish court feasts recorded in the extant sources for the Hellenistic period took place in the context of international religious festivals organized by the monarchy: the Ptolemaia festival in Alexandria and a new year festival at Daphne in Syria. Such festivals likely were created to attract representatives of lesser states and

robe of Nebuchadnezzar" (Sachs & Hunger 1989: AD no. -187 A) is to be connected with *akītu*: see now Madreiter 2016, 119–120, arguing against this interpretation.

67 Strootman 2013b; the term 'contact zone' was introduced and defined by Pratt 1991.

cities to the imperial centers.[68] As a result of the institutionalization of new international festivals associated with the royal courts, and the physical attendance of kings at already institutionalized (pan)hellenic festivals, court feast and civic feast became overlapping categories. In other words, the court feast, normally associated with the palace, could also take place while the court was on the march,[69] and subsequently in or near sanctuaries, as well.

In Asia Minor and the Middle East, the Seleukids developed a policy of institutionalizing their participation in civic cult by providing the means for sacrifice in their absence. This happened in Jerusalem, Babylon, Miletos and many other places.[70] We know that the poleis of the Hellenistic Aegean were connected with the imperial courts through the presence of individuals associated with the dynasties by means of *philia*, even if no garrison or imperial magistrate was actually present in the city. How this affected communal feasting in the absence of the king is a question still to be addressed. We do know that Hellenistic kings tried to influence civic politics through their local friends. Did these friends, sponsored and encouraged through their connections with the court societies, take on the roles of patrons of communal banquets, too, increasing their prestige and power by controlling access to the feast and demonstrating their generosity?

If indeed kings paid for the sacrifices they performed during festivals and at incidental visits to Greek cities, as the evidence presented in this paper suggests, the religious sphere was not only a contact zone, providing a ritualized

68 For discussion of the evidence see Strootman 2014a, 255–256, 272. On the royal festivals of the Argead monarchy see Mari, this volume.

69 Note that one of the most detailed accounts of a court feast's surroundings is Kallixeinos's description of the banqueting tent of Ptolemy Philadelphos constructed in the palace gardens at Alexandria (above, n. 24; on this structure see now Calandra 2011; Emme 2013). A Ptolemaic royal pavilion with a public function 'on the road' is attested for the Raphia campaign of 217 (Polyb. 5.81.4: τοῦ βασιλέως σκηνῆς, and 81.5 τῆς ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ χρηματιστικῆς σκηνῆς); Polyb. 5.81.5–6 distinguishes this 'public and official tent' from the private pavilions where the king, Ptolemy IV, and his retinue actually stayed. Philip V, too, had at his disposal a 'mobile palace' (Polyb. 5.16.2, 25.3), and so did Antiochos III (Polyb. 8.21.1). Also see Diod. 17.16.3–4, describing Alexander's banqueting pavilion at Dion, and Phylarchos, *FGrH* 81 F 41 *ap*. Ath. 539e–f, on Alexander's audience tent in Iran; cf. Spawforth 2007.

70 For a comprehensive overview of royal patronage of sanctuaries in the Aegean region in the early Hellenistic period, see Orth 2014; also see Habicht 1999, 167–169. On sacrificing in absence, see Jacquemin 2008; cf. Carbon in this volume on receiving a portion of a sacrifice when absent.

venue for interaction, but could moreover become a means to integrate the king and members of the court community to some extent into civic communities. As the epigraphic record shows, awarding citizenship to foreigners was no uncommon phenomenon in the Hellenistic poleis; but being a member of a polis community was also a matter of sharing in the rites of the polis.[71] This means that by engaging in civic sacrificial ritual and the subsequent ritualized feasting, foreign kings could become citizens of sorts. But by assigning to the king the honor of performing the central act of offering, and allowing him to pay for the burnt offerings and to nourish the people in the ensuing communal meals, he was simultaneously singled out as an extraordinary 'other.'

Abbreviations

ABC A.K. Grayson ed., *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (Locust Valley 1975).
BCHP R.J. van der Spek and I.L. Finkel eds., *Babylonian Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period* (forthcoming; preliminary version online at www.livius.org).
BM British Museum.
JDAI(I) Jahrbücher des deutschen archäologischen Instituts (Istanbul).

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71 See now Wijma 2014. On double citizenship in the Hellenistic world and beyond, consult Heller and Pont 2012.

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CHAPTER 12

The Macedonian Background of Hellenistic *Panegyreis* and Public Feasting

Manuela Mari

Hellenistic *Panegyreis* between Tradition and Innovation

The great public festivals of the Hellenistic period, and especially those organized and attended by kings, changed the Greek festive tradition in many important ways.[1] We can summarize the five most relevant innovations as follows:

1. Festivals were attended by ever-increasing crowds, whose role gradually changed. While citizen participation in polis religion remained fully active, in some festive events focused on (or attended by) the kings the masses played the role of a mere audience.[2] Festivals, public celebrations, and competitions were often used for their potential to gather huge crowds and to serve as ideal settings for important announcements, political meetings, and diplomatic maneuvers.
2. The growing number of participants also affected the scale of sacrifices and banquets. The festivals expanded to a grand scale and became extremely expensive events, attaining an unprecedented level of luxury. The king, who was perceived and often described as a major benefactor,[3] was in a position to invite hundreds, or even thousands, of people to dinner,

1 Although my paper discusses 'feasting' in the broader meaning of the English word, as a *series of festive acts or events* including banquets and possibly a larger distribution of food, I will try to avoid ambiguities and to consistently use either the word 'festival' or the Greek word *panegyris* in this wider meaning. I will therefore use 'feasting' in its most proper and narrow meaning. The absence of a specific Greek word describing *public feasting* was remarked by Schmitt Pantel 1992, 11–12.

2 This specific feature of Hellenistic festive events seems to emerge a little earlier, that is, already in fourth-century Greece: see Walbank 1996, 120 and n. 6.

3 On the general theme, with no specific reference to the topic of my paper, see Gauthier 1985, 39–53. As Murray 1996, 24–25 stresses, the epigraphic evidence preserves very few details on this specific role of the Hellenistic king as 'benefactor,' with the meaningful (but rather peculiar) exception of the mass festivals and banquets organized by Antiochos of Kommagene as

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to distribute large quantities of food, wine, and other gifts among his guests, and to mobilize the economic and human resources needed for such events.

3. Such festivals often included contests (*agones*), following an established Greek tradition. A (relatively) new element was, however, the mixed character of the competitions, which often included athletic, musical, and theatrical performances. Famous athletes and professional performers (*technitai*) were invited to participate and were at times called in from great distances.
4. A strong military element was part of many celebrations, especially (though not exclusively) of those directly organized by the kings; in some cases, impressive parades of troops were the climax of the entire festival. Sometimes, festivals were founded at the local level as celebrations or thanksgivings for recent victories (*charisteria* or *epinikia*) and might eventually have found a regular place in civic calendars, acting as the legal and religious basis of a 'special relationship' between a king and a city.[4]
5. Since they were deprived of an exclusively civic meaning, some Hellenistic royal festivals were not specifically linked to a particular place, such as a town or a sanctuary. As a matter of fact, some of them became 'moveable' events and were often dedicated not to a single deity, but to many or all.

If the top-down nature, the theatricality, and the disjunction from specific places are the most profoundly innovative features in the nature of the festivals of the Hellenistic period,[5] in other respects the comparison with the past shows only differences in degree, quantity, and dimensions. The evolution of the *panegyreis* is usually (and quite obviously) seen as a consequence of the initiatives taken by Alexander the Great during the Asian expedition.[6] Alexander's festivals to some extent resulted from adaptations to specific, and extraordinary,

part of an elaborate ruler cult (on which see Musti 1982; Schmitt Pantel 1992, 465–466, with references).

4 See Pritchett 1979, 169; Piejko 1986, 426; Köhler 1996, 69; Mari 2002, 236 n. 1, 237–238 n. 2, for specific examples of *epinikia* or *charisteria* which later became a regular event of the civic calendar.

5 Walbank 1996, 120–121 and n. 12 and Chaniotis 1997, 248–254 rightly insist on the first two features.

6 Undoubtedly, all the items in the above list of typical features of Hellenistic royal festivals can be recognized in Alexander's initiatives. The concentration of feasts and *panegyreis* organized by Alexander in Asia and described in detail by our sources, especially Arrian, is impressive:

circumstances,[7] and the Achaemenid heritage possibly affected the king's initiatives, too, although it is extremely difficult to determine the extent of such influence.[8] On the other hand, it seems possible (at least up to a certain degree) to establish a link between some features of the Hellenistic festivals and public feasting and the Macedonian traditional habits in this field. As a matter of fact, important aspects of this Macedonian tradition are known to us through the ancient narratives of events earlier than the Asian expedition (I am referring here, as we shall see, both to the early years of Alexander's reign and to his predecessors, especially Archelaos and Philip II).

The influence of this Macedonian heritage on some relevant features of Hellenistic festive habits, and more particularly on those which are of particular interest to the readers of this volume (banqueting, public feasting, large sacrifices, and distributions of food), is the subject of the present paper. As in many other fields of Hellenistic cultural and social history, Alexander was apparently an intermediary rather than a radical innovator.[9]

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a list of festivals including competitions is in Mari 2002, 236 n. 1; on thank offerings or victory sacrifices (*epinikia*) see Pritchett 1979, 188; cf. also Oliva 1993; Bucciantini 2009.

7 The nature of Alexander's festivals was partly determined by the fact that the audience and the participants of the events were not citizens of a polis, but soldiers on a long-lasting campaign (Mari 2002, 235–238, and Mari forthcoming, with further references; see among recent studies also Le Guen 2014). This fact in its turn helps in explaining at least some recurrent features of Alexander's and of later festivals.

8 The latter element often seems clearly exaggerated and put into a negative light by our sources, especially when feasts and banquets are involved. This scenario allows the description of Alexander according to all the *topoi* usually associated with the Persian fondness for luxury (*tryphé*): see, e.g., Q. Curtius Rufus's description of entertainments in 330 (*tempestiva convivia et perpotandi pervigilandique insana dulcedo ludique et greges pelicum*) as symptoms of "a general slipping into foreign habits" (*omnia in externum lapsa morem*) (6.2.1–2, trans. J.C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library, 1946). On the moralistic *topoi* in ancient descriptions of the feasting habits of Alexander and other kings, see Schmitt Pantel 1992, 457–458; 463–464. The same scholar, on the other hand, stresses the importance of the Persian tradition to explain Alexander's role as a major benefactor and donor of food to the masses (458–459): as I suggest below in this paper, in the case of Alexander a Macedonian background must also be considered. On the redistribution of resources implied by Persian royal feasts, see now Lion 2013, in particular 121–123, who usefully compares the Greek literary sources with the Near Eastern texts. The standard studies in this field are by Briant (in particular Briant 1989; see also Briant 1994).

9 Cf. Hammond 2000, 141: "the reign of Alexander is often treated as a watershed, and there is a tendency then for historians to limit their study to one side or other of the watershed. When Macedonian institutions are under consideration, this division is a disadvantage": an illuminating remark, although Hammond's paper deals with completely different topics.

Olympia, Xandika, Daisia: The Macedonian Calendar of 'National' Festivals before and after Alexander

Let us start from the end, that is, from two later Hellenistic examples of the evolution which I have schematically described in the above list: the festival held by the Roman general Lucius Aemilius Paullus at Amphipolis in 167 after the dissolution of the Macedonian kingdom, and the one organized one year later by the Seleucid king Antiochos IV at Daphne in Syria. The two events, which were compared and connected to each other already by contemporary observers,[10] took place in the aftermath of the Roman victory at Pydna in 168 and thus represent the end of the long postclassical evolution of Greek and Macedonian public feasting in the most emblematic way. Many of the items in the above list, however, were already present about a hundred years earlier, on an impressive level, in the famous *panegyris* held at Alexandria around 270 by Ptolemy Philadelphos, possibly the first edition of the Ptolemaia.[11] These three examples suffice to shed light on the development of a common language of Hellenistic public feasting, which in the end was equally mastered by kings, members of the Hellenistic courts, Roman generals, and even by the leaders of Greek 'republican' states (poleis, *ethnē*, *koinà*).[12]

Undoubtedly, then, on this side of the alleged 'watershed' (from Alexander's Asian expedition to the twin festivals of Paullus and Antiochos) we can eas-

10 According to Polyb. 30.25.1, the festival of Daphne was Antiochos's direct reply to the success of Aemilius Paullus's initiative.

11 For the three events and a detailed discussion of the relevant bibliography, see Mari forthcoming. Here I limit myself to briefly listing the ancient sources: on the festival of Alexandria, Kallixeinos of Rhodes, *FGrHist* 627 Fr. 1, Fr. 2 (from Ath. 5.203 E–206 C and 196 A–203 B, respectively); on the festival of Amphipolis, Livy 45.32.8–33.7; Polyb. 30.14; Diod. Sic. 31.8.4–9; Plut. *Aem.* 28.3–29.1; on the festival of Daphne, which was also well known to Jewish authors (references in Bunge 1976, 53–54), see the fragments of Polyb. 30.25–27 (from Ath. 5.194 C–195 F and 10.439 B–D); Diod. Sic. 31.16; Ath. 4.150 C–D; 176 A–B; 183 F (quoting Protagorides of Kyzikos, *On the festivals* [or *competitions*] *in Daphne*, *FGrHist* 853); 5.194 A; 10.439 B–D.

12 An impressive example is offered by the Achaean *strategos* Philopoemen, who in 207 skillfully exploited the Nemean games, then held at Argos, to celebrate his recent victory over the Spartan tyrant Machanidas. The military parade that took place on this occasion (Plut. *Phil.* 11.1–3; Paus. 8.50.3) marked a clean break in the history of the Panhellenic festivals, which, although occasionally affected or disturbed by military operations in the areas where they took place, traditionally did not include parades of soldiers or displays of military strength (cf. Mari 2013, 47–49).

ily find many recurrent features in this field of Hellenistic public life (see the list at the beginning of the paper) and establish links between Alexander and his successors, or even reconstruct what seems to be a coherent evolution. But if we look toward the other side of the watershed (that is, to the Macedonian tradition of public festivals *before* 334), we find that such an evolution started earlier.

From this perspective, I will consider two examples, one one-time event (the celebration of the wedding of Kleopatra, Alexander's sister) and one recurring festival of the Macedonian calendar (the 'national' Macedonian festival of the Olympia). Kleopatra's wedding festival was organized by Philip II at Aigai in 336 and already shows many distinctive features of the typical Hellenistic 'court festivals.'[13] Let Diodoros's detailed description speak for itself:

> Straightway Philip set in motion plans to join gorgeous sacrifices to the gods (θυσίας μεγαλοπρεπεῖς … τοῖς θεοῖς) along with the wedding of his daughter Kleopatra … He wanted as many Greeks as possible to take part in the festivities (τῆς εὐωχίας) in honor of the gods, and so planned brilliant musical contests and lavish banquets (ἀγῶνάς τε μουσικοὺς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς … καὶ λαμπρὰς ἑστιάσεις) for his friends and guests. He summoned his personal guest-friends from all of Greece and ordered the members of his court to bring along as many of their acquaintances from abroad as they could … So, great numbers of people flocked to the festival (πρὸς τὴν πανήγυριν) from all directions, and the games and the marriage were celebrated in Aigai in Macedonia. Not only did individual notables crown him with golden crowns but most of the important cities as well, and among them Athens … Finally, the drinking was over and the start of the games set for the following day. While it was still dark, the multitude of spectators hastened into the theater and at sunrise the parade (τῆς πομπῆς) formed. Along with lavish display of every sort, Philip included statues of the twelve gods in the procession, each wrought with great artistry and adorned with a dazzling show of wealth to strike awe in the beholder, and along with these a thirteenth statue was conducted, suitable for a god, that of Philip himself. In this way, the king exhibited himself enthroned among the twelve gods. Every seat in the theater was taken when Philip appeared wearing a white cloak, and by his express orders his bodyguard stood away from him and followed only at a distance … Such was the pinnacle of success that he had attained, but as the praises and congrat-

13 See Strootman 2007, 306–307; cf. Strootman 2014; Mari forthcoming.

> ulations of all rang in his ears, suddenly without warning the plot against the king was revealed as death struck.[14]

Diodoros gives so many details on this festival of Aigai because it was the theatrical setting (literally) of Philip's murder. Other festive events which Philip organized in Macedonia (such as the Olympia of 348)[15] and his attitude toward the Greek panhellenic sanctuaries and festivals,[16] however, clearly show that the celebrations of 336 were only the most striking and lavish example of a wider and coherent strategy of political communication. *Panegyreis* and public spectacular events were essential elements of such a strategy.[17]

The Olympia of Dion had an established place in the Macedonian 'national' calendar at least from the end of the fifth century onward. As a matter of fact, they were founded or reorganized by king Archelaos (413–399); thereafter they were regularly celebrated at Dion, at the foot of Mount Olympus, taking place each year in the month named after Zeus, *Dios* (October–November), the first month of the Macedonian year. The festival was often attended by the Macedonian kings themselves. As a consequence, the sanctuary of Zeus and the Muses at Dion became the most important 'pan-Macedonian' sanctuary and retained

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14 Quotation from 16.91–93, in an abridged form; trans. C. Bradford Welles, Loeb Classical Library (1963), with minor changes. See also 95.1.

15 Diod. Sic. 16.55.1–2: "After the capture of Olynthos, Philip celebrated the Olympian festival to the gods in commemoration of his victory, and offered magnificent sacrifices; and he organized a great festival, on the occasion of which he held splendid competitions and thereafter invited many of the visiting strangers to his banquets (ποιήσας τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπινίκια μεγαλοπρεπεῖς θυσίας συνετέλεσεν· πανήγυριν δὲ μεγάλην συστησάμενος καὶ λαμπροὺς ἀγῶνας ποιήσας πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπιδημούντων ξένων ἐπὶ τὰς ἑστιάσεις παρελάμβανε). In the course of the carousals he joined in numerous conversations, presenting to many guests drinking cups as he proposed the toasts, awarding gifts to a considerable number, and graciously making such handsome promises to them all that he won over a large number to crave friendship with him" (trans. Ch.L. Sherman, Loeb Classical Library, 1952, with a few changes); see also Dem. 19.192–193.

16 Mari 2002, 75–202.

17 It has been suggested that the wedding festival at Aigai was in its turn the scaled-up version of a traditional Macedonian festival, during which marriages were celebrated, in autumn, when the shepherds led back the flocks from the summer pasturage (Hatzopoulos 1982, 37–41; Hatzopoulos 1996, I, 289–290 and n. 7; Hammond 1992, 359–360). However, as this hypothesis cannot be proved, I will not exploit it in my argumentation about the 'traditional' character of at least some among Alexander's initiatives. Philip's strongly innovative role, in this as in many other fields of Macedonian institutions, must not be underestimated.

this role until the end of the Antigonid dynasty. The festival had also important political overtones. On this yearly occasion, a general assembly of the *Makedones* was held and the king met envoys from the cities and *ethnē* of the kingdom. The sanctuary housed and displayed the texts of interstate treaties and arbitrations involving the Macedonian state. Here the kings celebrated their victories with monumental dedications, a custom that was followed by Alexander himself, at least in the early years of his reign.[18] When promoting this deep transformation of the sanctuary and the festival of Dion, Archelaos apparently followed the pattern of the southern Greek *hierà koinà* and of the festivals of the *periodos*. At least from Philip's reign onward the Olympia also offered an ideal opportunity for large political meetings (also often involving envoys from Greek states): the latter became in turn a key element in Philip's use of panhellenic sanctuaries (especially when the four sanctuaries of the *periodos* were chosen as the seats of the meetings of the so-called 'League of Corinth'), a custom that was later inherited by Alexander and by his successors.[19]

Another feature of the Macedonian Olympia that possibly influenced the evolution of festivals in the Hellenistic and Roman periods is the great variety of competitive events and performances (sport, music, theater), which implied the participation of famous performers and athletes from abroad, at least during Philip's reign and probably earlier.[20]

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18 In 335, Alexander celebrated the Macedonian 'national' festival in Dion, as usual, according to Diod. Sic. 17.16.3–4, or in Aigai, according to Arr. *Anab*. 1.11.1; in 334, the king dedicated in the sanctuary statues of the horsemen who had fallen in the battle of the Granikos (Arr. *Anab*. 1.16.4; Plut. *Alex*. 16.15–16; Vell. Pat. 1.11.3–4; Plin. *HN* 34.64). On Alexander and Dion, on the historical role of the sanctuary, and on the history of the Olympia and the relevant sources, see Mari 1998; Hatzopoulos and Mari 2004.

19 See Mari 2002, in particular 51–60 on Archelaos; 193–196 on the use of the panhellenic sanctuaries as meeting places for the League of Corinth; see also Mari 2013, 24–29. The four sanctuaries of the so-called *periodos* were definitely used for the meetings of the League in the early Hellenistic period (*IG* IV, 1^2, 68, III, lines 11–12, 17–18 = *ISE* I, nr. 44), but several clues (mainly archaeological) suggest that the process started in Philip's age. The potential function of the major sanctuaries as seats of important political meetings did of course exist already among the Greeks, but it became systematic only under Macedonian hegemony. The earlier use of the sanctuary of Dion by the Macedonian kings as a privileged place to convene the assembly and the representatives of the cities might have acted as a pattern.

20 Mari 1998, 157–160, with references; on the Athenian comedian Satyros at the Olympia organized by Philip in 348, see the passages quoted above, n. 15. The mixed character of the competitions is probably already due to Archelaos. Examples of Alexander's similar initiatives can be found in Arr. *Anab*. 3.1.4 (on the athletic and musical games held at Memphis in 332, attended by famous athletes and performers); Plut. *Alex*. 29.1 (on a festival in

But the Olympia is not the only 'pan-Macedonian' festival that may prefigure later developments in the history of Hellenistic *panegyreis*. Both the Xandika and the Daisia provide further interesting terms of comparison. The traditional character and ancient origin of both festivals are indicated by the correspondence between their names and two months of the Macedonian calendar, unattested elsewhere, respectively *Xandikos* (March–April) and *Daisios* (May–June).[21] The Xandika, whose military character was more explicit than that of the Olympia, marked the beginning of the activities of the Macedonian army every year and the mobilization of the troops; military drills, simulated battles, and a solemn purification of the army were important features of the festival. Like the Olympia, the Xandika offered the king an opportunity to meet the envoys of the cities and *ethnē* of the kingdom and to make important political or military decisions. Our information on the Xandika refers to episodes of the Hellenistic period, but the traditional character and ancient origins of the festival are not called into question.[22] During the Asian campaign Alexander possibly organized versions of the Xandika.[23] By its very nature this festival was particularly apt for 'exportation,' since even when held in Macedonia it did not have a fixed seat and so was held each year in the most convenient

Phoenicia in 331, which included theatrical contests); Arr. *Anab.* 7.14.10 (funeral games for Hephaistion, see also below, n. 31); cf. again the list in Mari 2002, 236 n. 1.

21 See Kalléris 1954–1976, I, 143, 237–238; II, 1, 565–566; Trümpy 1997, 262–270, with references. A month *Theodaisios* is attested outside Macedonia, but the form *Daisios* seems, like *Xandikòs*, exclusively Macedonian. The calendar and the corresponding festivities, along with the language and the onomastics (which can indicate the transfer of Macedonian colonists), are the clearest marks of the annexation of a city to the Macedonian kingdom, as indicated by epigraphic testimonia from Philip's age onward: for examples and a detailed discussion see Hatzopoulos 1996, I, 163–165, 187–189, 201–205, 388–391.

22 The sources were already discussed by Kalléris 1954–1976, I, 237–238; Pritchett 1979, 157, 198–199, 201–202; Hatzopoulos 1994, 89–92; Hatzopoulos 1996, I, 272–276, 289–290, 319–320, 347–350. References to the *Xandikà* or to specific issues of the ceremony can be found in Curt. 10.9.11–13; Hsch. s.v. ξανθικά; *Suda* s.v. ἐναγίζων (= Polyb. 23.10.17); Livy 40.6.1–7, 43.21.5, and possibly also 33.3.1–6 and 42.52.4–5.

23 This suggestion is probable in itself, although clear proof is lacking (I am not at all persuaded by Kalléris's identification of an episode described by Plut. *Alex.* 31.1–2 [from Eratosthenes, *FGrHist* 241 Fr. 29] with a version of the *Xandikà* [1954–1976, I, 237 n. 5]). When an army was far away from home for years, such an adaptation of the calendar is easily conceivable, and it is explicitly testified for a festival in honor of Dionysos held by Alexander (Arr. *Anab.* 4.8.1) and, even earlier, for an edition of the Arkadian Lykaia during the expedition of the Ten Thousand (Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.10). The skepticism expressed by Pritchett 1979, 185–186 is justified only in the case of the short campaigns of the armies of the poleis.

place for a gathering of the troops.[24] The two most distinctive features of the Xandika—namely, its military character and its 'mobility'—were later, through Alexander, conferred upon many Hellenistic *panegyreis*.[25]

In the case of the Daisia the epigraphic sources reveal an interesting juxtaposition of authority in the organization of the event: in Macedonia, the festival was organized and directed by the central power, but held independently in each city. According to a fragmentary royal letter or *diagramma* found at Alkomena, the king took care to send instructions to the magistrates of individual cities on the subject.[26] In the Roman period a festival in honor of the *euergetai* was celebrated in different Macedonian cities during the month *Daisios*, and an inscription from Kalindoia, more particularly, mentions in this context public banquets and distribution of food among the citizens.[27] In the traditional Daisia, the role of 'benefactor' (*euergetes*) was most probably played

24 Hatzopoulos 1996, I, 290 and n. 1, 319–320; Hatzopoulos 2001, 87–88; Mari forthcoming.

25 For examples with a strong military character, consider the *panegyreis* organized, respectively, by Ptolemy II Philadelphos at Alexandria and by Antiochos IV Epiphanes at Daphne in Syria. A parade of troops is also present in the festival held at Amphipolis by Aemilius Paullus after his victory over Perseus, although in a less ostentatious form: for sources and discussion, see Mari forthcoming. A famous example of 'relocation' of a (panhellenic!) festival in the Hellenistic period is represented by the Pythian games of 290, which Demetrios Poliorketes held at Athens during the Etolian occupation of Delphi (Plut. *Demetr.* 40.4). In later periods the name itself of the most prestigious Greek festivals was easily transferred to 'provincial' celebrations and games: see Mari 1998, 156 n. 1, with some references.

26 Hatzopoulos 1996, II, nr. 19: a letter of Doules to Nikolaos, probably the *epistates* of Alkomena, forwarding a letter of an unnamed king about the Daisia (περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰ Δαίσια); only the beginning of the royal letter is preserved, with the date and some provision on "the expenses for the Daisia" (τὴν εἰς τὰ Δαίσια δαπά[νην]). On the 'national' character of the Daisia, see Papazoglou 1970, 314 n. 2; Hatzopoulos 1996, I, 411–412.

27 Honorary decree for Apollonios son of Apollonios, priest of Zeus, Rome, and Augustus, A.D. 1 (published by K.L. Sismanidis, Αρχ. Εφ. 1983, 75–84). Apollonios is praised, among other reasons, because on the occasion of the civic festival in honor of "Zeus, Augustus, and the other benefactors" he entertained sumptuously his fellow citizens and made lavish distribution of food among the civic tribes (lines 27–33). According to another honorary decree from Lete, of 119, the festival and the *agones* in honor of the *euergetai* took place in *Daisios* (*SIG*^{3} 700, lines 38–40), which was also the month when some Macedonian cities elected their magistrates already in the pre-Roman period, as testified by an honorary decree from Morrylos, of 206/5 or 205/4 (Hatzopoulos 1996, II, nr. 54, lines 19–21). Conclusions on the nature and contents of the Daisia on the basis of these documents (none of which explicitly mentions the festival) were first drawn by Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1989, 44–49; Hatzopoulos 1996, I, 150, 411–412.

by the king in person, and it took the concrete form of a distribution of food among a huge number of people taking part in the festival.

Banquets and the Large Distribution of Food at the Macedonian *Panegyreis*

The plausible interpretation of the original meaning of the Macedonian Daisia, which I have just recalled, formed the basis of M.B. Hatzopoulos's identification of the feasts, sacrifices, and banquets held by Alexander in Babylon in *Daisios* 323, shortly before his death, with a regular celebration of this traditional 'national' festival.[28] While Diodoros of Sicily and Plutarch describe these feasts, as usual, insisting on Alexander's growing surrender to Oriental luxury and licentiousness, and limit themselves to very few details,[29] Arrian is much more detailed. Quoting the 'Royal Journal' (αἱ βασίλειοι ἐφημερίδες) as his ultimate source,[30] he clearly distinguishes three different moments or, rather, sequences of acts within Alexander's initiative:

1. "Customary sacrifices in thanksgiving for good fortune" (τὰς … νομιζομένας θυσίας ἐπὶ ξυμφοραῖς ἀγαθαῖς). The *Ephemerides* recorded "customary sacrifices" on some consecutive days and different occasions;
2. The banquets and heavy drinking of the king and his *hetairoi*;
3. A distribution of meat and wine (ἱερεῖα καὶ οἶνον) among the soldiers, "by their companies and centuries" (κατὰ λόχους καὶ ἑκατοστύας).

Large distributions of food and/or massive feasting, however, are otherwise attested during Alexander's career and connected to different occasions: in

28 Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1989, 44–49; Hatzopoulos 1996, I, 150, 411–412. See also, for a festival organized by Peukestas, n. 35 below. I expressed more cautious views on the identification of the festival in Mari 2008, 228–230 and notes 20, 24. On the kings of Macedonia and Thrace as "facilitators" and "benefactors," in their peculiar capacity "to redistribute food," and on meat (both from sacrifices and from hunting) as a key element of the diet of the northern Aegean populations, see Archibald 2013, 275, 287–290.

29 Diod. Sic. 17.117.1–2, before describing Alexander's heavy drinking at the symposion organized by Medios, one of his *philoi*, rapidly mentions the offering of "sacrifices to the gods on a grand scale" (θυσίας … τοῖς θεοῖς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς). Plut. *Alex*. 75.3–4 describes the king as deep ἐν θυσίαις καὶ πότοις and then mentions an entertainment in honor of Nearchos and finally the invitation by Medios.

30 *Anab*. 7.24.4–25.1. See especially 25, 1 (καὶ αἱ βασίλειοι ἐφημερίδες ὧδε ἔχουσιν).

my opinion, therefore, they do not necessarily need to be explained through the unique pattern of the Daisia. Among the examples that could be usefully quoted in this context,[31] the Olympia celebrated by the king in 335 are particularly illuminating, as the king was at the time still in Macedonia, and the sequence of events is very similar to the one that took place at Babylon in 323. Diodoros's description is the most detailed:

> (Alexander) made lavish sacrifices to the gods at Dion in Macedonia and held the dramatic contests in honor of Zeus and the Muses which

31 The best-known examples took place during the expedition in Asia. See, e.g., the sacrifices and contests organized by Alexander on his way back from the Hydaspes in 326 (Arr. *Ind.* 18.11–12 mentions, along with "musical and athletic games," the distributions of sacrificial victims "to all the army, regiment by regiment" [ἱερεῖα τῇ στρατιῇ πάσῃ κατὰ τέλεα ἐδίδοτο]), and the three important events which took place in 324: the wedding ceremonies at Susa, on the occasion of which a pavilion housing 100 couches was reserved for the grooms and the king's 'friends,' while the soldiers and other guests were accommodated outside, the total being nine thousand people (Ath. 12.438 C, from Chares, *FGrHist* 125 Fr. 4; Plut. *Alex.* 70.3; Arr. *Anab.* 7.4.4–8); the 'reconciliation banquet' held at Opis after the mutiny of the army, which also shows an interesting disposition of the seats in hierarchical order and a total number of nine thousand guests (Arr. *Anab.* 7.11.8–9: "On this Alexander sacrificed to the gods to whom it was his custom to sacrifice, and gave a public banquet, seated all the Macedonians around him, and next to them the Persians [ἀμφ' αὐτὸν μὲν Μακεδόνων, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐφεξῆς τούτων Περσῶν], and then any persons from the other peoples who took precedence for rank or any other high quality, and he himself and those around him drank from the same bowl and poured the same libations … The story prevails that those who shared the banquet were nine thousand, and that they all poured the same libation and gave the one victory cry as they did so" [trans. P.A. Brunt, Loeb Classical Library, 1983]); and the funeral of Hephaistion, for which the detail of ten thousand sacrificed victims also alludes to a large distribution of food (see especially Diod. Sic. 17.115.5–6, with interesting details on the system of fundraising that Alexander encouraged: "All of the generals and the soldiers and the envoys and even the natives rivalled one another in contributing to the magnificence of the funeral, so, it is said, that the total expense came to over twelve thousand talents. In keeping with this magnificence and the other special marks of honor at the funeral, Alexander ended by decreeing that all should sacrifice to Hephaistion as god coadjutor. As a matter of fact, it happened just at this time that Philip, one of the Friends, came bearing a response from Ammon that Hephaistion should be worshipped as a god. Alexander was delighted that the god had ratified his own opinion, was himself the first to perform the sacrifice, and entertained everybody handsomely. The sacrifice consisted of ten thousand victims of all sorts" [trans. C. Bradford Welles, Loeb Classical Library, 1963]; cf. also Arr. *Anab.* 7.14.8–10, more focused, one more time, on the "athletic and musical contests far more magnificent than any before in the number of competitions and the remaining cost").

> Archelaos, one of his predecessors, had instituted. He celebrated the festival for nine days, naming each day after one of the Muses. He erected a tent to hold a hundred couches (σκηνὴν […] ἑκατοντάκλινον) and invited his Friends and officers, as well as the ambassadors from the cities, to the banquet (ἐπὶ τὴν εὐωχίαν). Employing great magnificence, he entertained great numbers in person besides distributing to his entire force sacrificial animals and all else suitable for the festive occasion (λαμπραῖς δὲ παρασκευαῖς χρησάμενος καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἑστιάσας, πάσῃ δὲ τῇ δυνάμει διαδοὺς ἱερεῖα καὶ τἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν εὐωχίαν ἀνήκοντα), and put his army in a fine humor.[32]

In spite of the different festive framework, similarities with the events of 323 are clear, the most relevant being the distribution of food among the entire army. The feasting and, more particularly, the collective consumption of sacrificial meat are a key element of the relationship between the king and the Macedonians, well beyond the narrow circle of the 'companions' (ἑταῖροι), definitely charged by ritual overtones and not exclusively linked to a single festive framework. If the Daisia were the festive occasion *par excellence* when the king showed himself as the 'benefactor' and the 'donor of food' of his people, especially if we accept the probable original meaning of the nouns *Daisios*-Daisia (as linked to the δαίς, the "meal which is divided and shared," from δαΐζω, "to cut in pieces and distribute"),[33] the important social and political implications of Macedonian feasting can also be traced in other *panegyreis*.[34]

Not surprisingly, then, public feasting and large distributions of food remained the center of many Macedonian festive events after (and even long

32 Diod. Sic. 17.16.3–4 (trans. C. Bradford Welles, Loeb Classical Library, 1963). Arr. *Anab.* 1.11.1 apparently describes the same event, but he locates it in Aigai: on this event, see Mari 1998, 138–143, 147–153; Mari forthcoming. On the tent or pavilion, which was later employed again by the king during the Asian expedition (see n. 31 for the collective wedding at Susa; see also possibly, for another episode, Curt. 9.7.15) and was a possible influence for the one used by Ptolemy II at Alexandria in 270, see Tomlinson 1970, 310–311; Borza 1983, 46–47; Murray 1996, 21–22; Calandra 2011, 40–43, 59; Emme 2013, 51.

33 Such a link was taken for granted by Kalléris 1954–1976, I, 143, who saw in the Daisia a festival in honor of Dionysos (cf. also Kalleris II, 1, 566 n. 3). On the 'technical' meaning of δαίς see Schmitt Pantel 1992, 5, 266–267, without references to the Macedonian month and festival.

34 Such implications have been limited to the relationships within the Macedonian elite, that is, between the king and his *hetairoi* (references in n. 39 below). I think that a larger perspective can be very useful in this context.

after) the watershed represented by Alexander's Asian expedition. An impressive example dates to 317, a few years after the King's death: in an initiative of Peukestas, satrap of Persis at the time, the legacy of the traditional 'national' festivals might have been as important as Alexander's influence. According to Diodoros, Peukestas in Persepolis "performed a magnificent sacrifice to the gods and to Alexander and Philip" and then offered the entire army a feast, whose physical structure appears particularly elaborate.[35] Distribution of food also took place in the *panegyris* organized by Lucius Aemilius Paullus at Amphipolis in 167. At this occasion, Paullus announced the division of Macedonian territory into four autonomous regions. Paullus carried out an imposing *mise en scène* of the new political order, skillfully manipulating some elements of Macedonian festive traditions. It is no surprise that the Amphipolis 'patchwork' included feasting and distribution of food on a large scale.[36] An even later parallel may be quoted in this context, too: in the imperial period, we find in Macedonia at least one 'national' festival, which by then was presided over by the ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τοῦ κοινοῦ Μακεδόνων, an official who apparently retained in some way the ancient royal prerogative of distributing food "to the entire people."[37]

35 Cf. Diod. Sic. 19.22.1, whose description of the event clearly recalls episodes of Alexander's career like those quoted in n. 31: "When they had arrived in Persepolis, the capital, Peukestas, who was general of this land, performed a magnificent sacrifice to the gods and to Alexander and Philip; and, after gathering from almost the whole of Persia a multitude of sacrificial animals and of whatever else was needed for festivities and religious gatherings, he gave a feast to the army (θυσίαν ἐπετέλεσε μεγαλοπρεπῆ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Φιλίππῳ, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ ἐξ ὅλης σχεδὸν τῆς Περσίδος ἱερείων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εἰς εὐωχίαν καὶ πανήγυριν χρησίμων πλῆθος εἱστίασε τὴν δύναμιν). With the company of those participating he filled four circles, one within the other, with the largest circle enclosing the others … In the middle of these there were altars for the gods and for Alexander and Philip … And the circles were sufficiently separated from each other so that the banqueters should not be crowded and that all the provisions should be near at hand" (trans. R.M. Geer, Loeb Classical Library, 1947). According to Hatzopoulos, Philip and Alexander were worshipped as 'benefactors' of the Macedonians, and this festival is a version of the Daisia, but such an identification is neither certain nor, in my view, necessary (Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1989, 44–49; Hatzopoulos 1996, I, 150, 411–412; Mari 2008, 228–230).

36 Cf. Diod. Sic. 31.8.9 and Livy 45.32.11, 33.4. This feature in the festival of Amphipolis has been rightly stressed by Hatzopoulos 1996, I, 350, who drew attention to the aspects of continuity with the Macedonian tradition, and by Edmonson 1999, 79 and 90, notes 17–18; see now, for more details and a discussion of the possible traditions followed by Paullus in his initiative, Mari forthcoming.

37 *SEG* 17, 1960, 315, lines 19–20, a decree of the city of Beroea in honor of Q. Popillius Python

Macedonian Feasting: The King, His 'Companions,' and the Others

Some concluding remarks can now be made. In studies of Macedonian history and institutions, feasting has almost exclusively received attention as an affair of the king and his inner circle of 'companions.' It has even been seen as one of the alleged 'Homeric' features of a relatively backward society, where a clear-cut distinction between 'private' and 'public' matters could not be drawn.[38] With or without such a reference to the supposed 'Homeric' character of Macedonian society, some scholars have noted that the habit of feasting and drinking together was an essential element of the court lifestyle, a useful instrument to strengthen personal and political ties: royal feasting created hierarchies within the king's inner circle and could be a mechanism to select a loyal elite.[39] Other scholars have interpreted the evolution of Alexander's feasting during the Asian expedition as a gradual surrender to 'Oriental' patterns of behavior, or raised the question whether Alexander and later kings ever adopted the "Persian feasting economy, in which political honor was distributed in terms of the amount of provisions for feasting which were apportioned by the king to his relatives and high-ranking officials."[40]

(end of the first century AD): the large distributions of food (διαδόμασιν … πανδήμοις) are here quoted among the duties of the *archiereus*, who definitely inherited a role once performed by the kings. According to Hatzopoulos 1996, I, 348–350, "the Amphipolis meeting is the indispensable link which connects the pre-Roman with the Roman form of panegyris (*sc*., in Macedonia)". On the *koinon* of the Macedonians, see Kanatsoulis 1953–1955; Nigdelis and Lioutas 2009.

38 The 'Homeric' nature of some features of Macedonian feasting is sometimes remarked by the ancient sources: for a revealing example from Athenaios, see n. 41 below. More generally on some 'Homeric' features of Macedonian society, see Cohen 1995; Carlier 2000.

39 Borza 1983, 54–55; Pownall 2010, 55–56, 62–65, with further bibliography (almost exclusively in English: on the initiatory rites in Macedonia the author apparently ignores Hatzopoulos 1994, the standard study of the subject).

40 Murray 1996, 18. The same scholar, moreover, believes it possible that at least for the hierarchical elements in the disposition of the guests at the Royal Table (see above, n. 31) the king followed the Persian tradition (19–20); while Emme 2013, 53 stresses in this same feature the importance of the Macedonian tradition. On the taxation system and the economic rationality behind the Persian royal banquets see, along with the Greek sources discussed by Murray, Lion 2013, especially 121–123, with further bibliography. Against the adoption of the Persian system of rations and tribute collection, see now Archibald 2013, 275, but some references in the ancient sources can be interpreted in the opposite way (see n. 31, Diod. Sic. 17.115.5–6 on the funeral of Hephaistion, and n. 35, Diod. Sic. 19.22.1 on Peukestas's festival in Persepolis, and cf. Schmitt Pantel 1992, 458–459; Capdetrey 2013, 178–184, 189, 192).

Broadening our view to a wider selection of parallels enables us, as we have seen, to change our observation point in a useful way. Banquets at the Macedonian court, both those attended only by a select number of guests along with the king and those open to hundreds or even thousands of people, are not only a favorite *topos* in ancient historiography on Alexander,[41] but a truly important element of Macedonian social habits and royal institutions, before and after the Asian expedition.[42] Alexander's own role is to be seen in the 'exportation' and adaptation of Macedonian traditional festivals abroad and (possibly) in the introduction of some Persian elements into the court ceremonial. Moreover, as we have seen in the case of the Babylon festival of 323, the banquets and distribution of food organized or attended by the king are often part of wider sequences of festive events that our sources sometimes reduce or abridge. Such sequences of events included, along with games and various performances offered to wide audiences and with military parades, sacrifices and other religious acts that were felt and described as 'traditional' and 'customary' (see in Arrian's illuminating description of the events of 323, expressions such as νομιζομένας θυσίας, or τὰ ἱερὰ θῦσαι ὡς νόμος, or θῦσαι τὰ νομιζόμενα).[43]

Hellenistic festivals and public feasting, with the peculiar features that partly distinguish them from earlier Greek habits in this field, were definitely the result of a complex historical process and of several different cultural influences. In the present paper, I have tried to draw attention, more particularly, to a few Macedonian festive traditions and to show some important elements of continuity linking them to Hellenistic (or even later) developments. There is no need to say that the Macedonian background, although important here as

On the distribution of food and precious objects to the guests of Hellenistic royal banquets see Davies 2005, 128–131, 133, with references.

41 It is worth stressing that the two 'levels' of feasting mentioned in the text (that is, the feasts attended only by a select number of guests along with the king and those open to hundreds or even thousands of people) are sometimes juxtaposed in a meaningful way by our sources: see Ath. 1.17 F, who quotes as an example of Alexander's banquets an episode in which six thousand guests appear; moreover he, in an equally meaningful way, mentions such episodes as examples of a 'heroic' lifestyle. Court symposia were of course meant for a far smaller number of guests, not more than one hundred and usually fewer: cf. Borza 1983, 52–53; Schmitt Pantel 1992, 458, following Ephippos, *FGrHist* 126 Fr. 2, ap. Ath. 4.146 C.

42 Tomlinson 1970 rightly insisted on continuity, in a paper focused on architectural (rather than social) aspects of Macedonian symposia; a similar approach is now suggested by Emme 2013, 49–53. On the social meaning of Macedonian feasting, at least concerning the elite, Pownall 2010 rightly stresses the elements of continuity and *longue durée*.

43 Arr. 7.24.4–25.6.

in many other aspects of the cultural and social history of the Hellenistic world, cannot explain by itself the variety, complexity, and deep innovations of that fascinating age.

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CHAPTER 13

Sharing the Civic Sacrifice: Civic Feast, Procession, and Sacrificial Division in the Hellenistic Period*

Stéphanie Paul

Introduction

The sharing of civic sacrifice has been intricately linked with the modes of organization of the polis itself: on the one hand, granting choice portions would have emphasized the particular status of priests, magistrates, or honored individuals within the civic community; on the other hand, the 'egalitarian' division of the sacrificial meat has been thought to reflect a certain ideological model of equality of rights (*isonomia*) that might be inherent in the conception of the polis.[1] Yet, the epigraphic evidence often provides us with a partial and disparate picture that does not allow us to comprehend fully all the implications of the sacrificial division. For instance, it is not always clear whether the diversity presented in the inscriptions comes from exceptions to a norm, or simply reflects the numerous traditional practices existing in the Greek poleis.

This paper deals with the practicalities of the sacrificial division in civic rituals in the Hellenistic period. More precisely, it focuses on the two elements at both ends of the feast: the procession and the meat distribution, both employing a hierarchic principle and for which participation was strictly regulated and

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1 Detienne and Svenbro 1979, 222: "Mais d'Homère à Plutarque, pendant près de dix siècles, le repas égalitaire fonctionne, à travers les sacrifices et les banquets publics, comme une pratique institutionnelle solidaire des rapports sociaux qui sous-tendent la figure isonomique de la Cité." Cf. Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 642f–644; Ath. 1.12d–e. See also Loraux 1981, 620; Berthiaume 1982, 50; Schmitt Pantel 1992, 49–52. For distinctions between citizens in *access to* the feast, see Blok and Van 't Wout this volume; for negotiation between honor and equality in *providing* the feast, see Lambert this volume.

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controlled. Using epigraphic evidence, I address the question of whether there existed a correspondence between the participation in the procession and the allocation of meat portions, and if so, how it was articulated and what were its purposes and meanings. I argue that several inscriptions do underline such a correspondence, insofar as those who actively took a part in the procession either exclusively benefited from a share in the sacrifice, or were allotted more sizeable portions than the rest of the worshippers. As such, participation in both elements helped define one's specific status or function within the cult and the community, in a way that is not fixed, but rather highly dependent on local contexts and traditional practices.

Zeus Sosipolis in Magnesia on the Meander

As a touchstone to address this topic, I begin with a well-known inscription from Magnesia on the Meander concerning the introduction of a new festival in honor of Zeus Sosipolis.[2] The decree, which was passed by the Council and the People of Magnesia in the early second century,[3] can be summarized as follows: every year in the month of Kronion, at the beginning of the sowing period, a bull was purchased by the *oikonomoi* and "presented" or "consecrated" (ἀναδείκνυσθαι) to Zeus. This presentation came with a prayer pronounced by the sacred herald in the presence of priests and public officials, and before nine boys and nine girls having living parents (*amphithaleis*). A few months later on the 12th of Artemision, a procession escorted the statues of the Twelve Gods toward the agora, where a *tholos* and three couches had been set up next to their altar.[4] The bull was sacrificed to Zeus Sosipolis, and additional sacrifices were offered to Zeus, Artemis Leukophryene, and Apollo Pythios. The prescriptions concerning these sacrifices are followed by details regulating the meat distribution:

2 *I.Magnesia* 98 = *LSAM* 32. The inscription has been cited very frequently, but see the recent studies by Wiemer 2009 on the significance of the festival within the Hellenistic context and Chankowski 2010, 392, 400–403, on the procession.

3 The eponymous *stephanephoros* Aristeas Demetriou is also mentioned in the inscription recording a peace treaty between Miletus and Magnesia (*I.Milet* 148), which has been conventionally dated to the year 197/6. This date has been recently moved, however, to the late 180s by Errington 1989 (*contra* Wörrle 2004, who argued in favor of the earlier date).

4 On the significance of the Twelve Gods at this festival, see Georgoudi 1998a, 88.

> The *oikonomoi* shall provide on the 12th of Artemision three animals, which they will sacrifice to Zeus Sosipolis, Artemis Leukophryene, and Apollo Pythios; to Zeus the most beautiful ram, to Artemis a goat, and to Apollo a billy goat, and they shall perform the sacrifice to Zeus on the altar of Zeus Sosipolis, to Artemis and to Apollo on the altar of Artemis.[5] The priests of these gods shall receive the honorary portions as usual. They shall divide the ox, once they have sacrificed it, among those who participated in the procession, and they shall divide the ram, the goat, and the billy goat among the *stephanephoros*, the priestess, the *polemarchoi*, the *proedroi*, the *neopoioi*, the public examiners[6] and those who served in liturgies; the *oikonomoi* shall be in charge of the division.[7]

Once the usual honorary portions (*gera*) were removed and handed to the priests of the recipient deities,[8] a double standard in the meat distribution prevails. On the one hand, the meat from the smaller, additional sacrifices is shared by a select group of cult personnel and public officials, the structure of which is not easily discerned. On the other hand, the meat from the bull is divided among the participants in the procession (συμπομπεύσαντες). The composition of the latter group is further detailed in an earlier section of the inscription, which regulates the organization of the procession:

5 The altar of Zeus Sosipolis was probably in the agora where he also had a temple, while the sanctuary of Artemis was located next to the agora. On these two temples, see Schädler 1991, esp. 307–309. The sequence of the sacrifices is not known, but we can imagine that the procession stopped in the sanctuary of Artemis for the sacrifices to Artemis and Apollo on the way to the agora.

6 The *euthynoi* were responsible for the control of the public officials. In Magnesia, they notably registered complaints against magistrates who failed to do their work properly: see Fröhlich 2004, esp. 106–110.

7 Lines 46–59: παριστανέτωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ οἰκονόμοι ἐν | τῶι μηνὶ τῶι Ἀρτεμισιῶνι τῆι δωδεκάτηι ἱερεῖα τρία, | [ἃ] θύσουσι τῶι τε Διὶ τῶι Σωσιπόλει καὶ τῆι Ἀρτέμιδι | [τ]ῆι Λευκοφρυηνῆι καὶ τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Πυθίωι, τῶι μὲν | [Διὶ] κριὸν ὡς κάλλιστον, τῆι δὲ Ἀρτέμιδι αἶγα, τῶι δὲ Ἀπόλλ[ω]|νι ἀττηγόν, θύοντες τῶι μὲν Διὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διό[ς] | τοῦ Σωσιπόλιος, τῆι δὲ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπὶ τ[οῦ] | βωμοῦ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος· λαμβάνειν δὲ τὰ γέρα τὰ εἰθισμέν[α] | τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῶν θεῶν τούτων· τὸν δὲ βοῦν ὅταν θύσωσιν | [δ]ιανεμέτωσαν τοῖς συμπομπεύσασιν, τὸν δὲ κριὸν καὶ τὴν αἶγα καὶ τὸν ἀττηγὸν διανεμέτωσαν τῶι τε στεφανηφό||[ρ]ωι καὶ τῆι ἱερείαι καὶ τοῖς πολεμάρχοις καὶ τοῖς προέδροις | [κα]ὶ νεωποίαις καὶ εὐθύνοις καὶ τοῖς λητουργήσασιν, διανε||[μέ]τωσαν δὲ ταῦτα οἱ οἰκονόμοι.

8 Apollo Pythios is the god of Delphi (see below) and does not seem to have had a formal cult in Magnesia, which would explain the absence of an altar dedicated to him and the fact that no priest of Apollo is mentioned in the text. Perhaps the *stephanephoros* officiated for this cult—and thus received the *gera*, since the office is associated with the cult of Apollo elsewhere in Asia Minor: see Dignas 2007.

> The *stephanephoros* in office along with the priest (i.e., of Zeus) and the priestess of Artemis Leukophryene shall lead the procession on the 12th of Artemision and sacrifice the bull which has been consecrated; the *gerousia*, the priests, the magistrates, both elected and appointed by lot, the ephebes, the *neoi*, the boys, the winners in the Leukophryena and in all the other crown games shall join in the procession; the *stephanephoros*, while leading the procession, shall bear the wooden statues of all the Twelve Gods in their most beautiful attire, build a *tholos* in the agora next to the altar of the Twelve Gods, lay three couches, the most beautiful, and hire musicians, a flute player, a piper, and a lyre player.[9]

The sharing of the sacrifice strictly depended on the participation in the *pompe*, which included civic representatives, cult personnel, members of the gymnasium, and winners of contests. Highlighting select groups or individuals by granting additional portions in civic sacrifices is not uncommon, nor is the fact that the sacrificial meal was restricted to a select part of the worshipping community.[10] If we attempt a rough estimation, we can speculate that the quantity of the meat from the four sacrifices amounted to approximately 180 kg, including 100 kg for the bull and 80 kg in total for the smaller animals.[11] Although such a quantity of meat could probably feed several hundred people, it would not have been nearly enough to satisfy the whole body of citizens.[12] Thus, the limitation may simply have had very practical, financial, reasons: an all-inclusive participation in the sacrificial meal would have meant an increase of the number of animals, which would have entailed a much higher expense. Meeting the costs incurred by the annual sacrifices represented a continuous challenge for

9 Lines 32–46: τὸν στεφανηφόρον τὸν ἀεὶ γινόμενον μετὰ τοῦ ἱέ|ρεω καὶ τῆς ἱερείας τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Λευκοφρυην⟨ῆ⟩ς ἐξά|[γ]ειν τὴμ πομπὴν τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ Ἀρτεμισιῶνος τῆι δω|δεκάτηι καὶ θύειν τὸν ταῦρον τὸν ἀναδεικνύμενον, | συμπομπεύειν δὲ τήν τε γερουσίαν καὶ τοὺς | ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τούς τε χειροτονητοὺς καὶ | τοὺς κληρωτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους καὶ τοὺς νέους καὶ | τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τοὺς τὰ Λευκοφρυηνὰ νικῶντας καὶ | τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς νικῶντας τοὺς στεφανίτας ἀγῶνας· ὁ δὲ στεφανηφόρος ἄγων τὴν πομπὴν φερέτω ξόα|να πάντων τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν ἐν ἐσθῆσιν ὡς καλλίσ|ταις καὶ πηγνύτω θόλον ἐν τῆι ἀγορᾶι πρὸς τῶι βωμῶι | τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν, στρωνύτω δὲ καὶ στρωμνὰς τρεῖς ὡς | καλλίστας, παρεχέτω δὲ καὶ ἀκροάματα, αὐλητήν, συρι|στήν, κιθαριστήν.

10 On the sacrificial division, see recently Ekroth 2008b.

11 Based on the estimations by Sloan and Duncan 1978, 76 for each species: cattle (100 kg), sheep (20 kg), goat (30 kg), pig (50 kg). Cf. Jameson 1988; Rosivach 1994, 157–158.

12 An estimation of the number of citizens in Magnesia during the second century can be inferred from a few decrees recording at the end the number of votes, the maximum of which is 4678 (*I.Magnesia* 92), while 600 constitutes a quorum: see Gauthier 1990, 90–91.

ancient Greek communities, especially smaller ones;[13] providing meat for each and every citizen at all occasions would not have been sustainable for a polis in the longer term.

In addition, the distribution was by no means based on a strict egalitarian principle. The few selected officials from the second group would have in fact received a much larger quantity of meat, as they were undoubtedly also included in the *sumpompeuontes*. For the priestess, and perhaps the *stephanephoros*, this additional portion would come as a supplement to the customary *gera* that had been set aside before the wider division. This limitation of the meat distribution to a restricted part of the civic community may appear paradoxical in the light of the all-inclusive significance of the ritual, as it is expressed in the prayer that accompanied the consecration of the bull:

> At the consecration of the bull, the sacred herald along with the priest, the priestess, the *stephanephoros*, the boys and the girls, the *polemarchoi*, the *hipparchoi*, the *oikonomoi*, the secretary of the council, the *antigrapheus*, and the *strategos*, shall pray for the safety of the city, the land, the citizens, the women, and children, all the inhabitants of the city and the land, for the peace, the wealth, and the production of wheat and all the other crops and herds.[14]

As his epithet clearly shows, Zeus Sosipolis's primary concern is the safety (*soteria*) of the city. As such, he appears as a combination of Zeus Soter and Zeus Polieus, both gods whose cults are spread throughout the Greek world and who often interact with each other.[15] The prayer unites two fundamental concerns regarding the survival of the community, i.e., peace and abundance of harvest. The former is undoubtedly an allusion to the historical context, since the introduction of the festival is either contemporary with the campaigns of Antiochos III in western Asia Minor, or with the peace treaty concluding the terri-

13 Financial difficulties may have been behind the inscription of some of the sacrificial calendars in the Attic demes: see Dow 1968.

14 Lines 21–31: καὶ ἐν τῶι ἀναδείκνυσθαι τὸν ταῦρον κατευ|χέσθω ὁ ἱεροκῆρυξ μετὰ τοῦ ἱέρεω καὶ τῆς ἱερείας καὶ | τοῦ στεφανηφόρου καὶ τῶμ παίδων καὶ τῶν παρθένων | καὶ τῶμ πολεμάρχων καὶ τῶν ἱππάρχων καὶ τῶν οἰ|κονόμων καὶ τοῦ γραμματέως τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ ἀντιγραφέως καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ὑπέρ τε σωτηρίας τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶμ πολιτῶν | καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατοικούν|των ἔν τε τῆι πόλει καὶ τῆι χώραι ὑπέρ τε εἰρήνης καὶ | πλούτου καὶ σίτου φορᾶς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καρπῶν πάν|των καὶ τῶν κτηνῶν.

15 On the interactions between Zeus Polieus and Zeus Soter, see Paul 2010 and Paul 2013a, 313–326.

torial war between Magnesia and Miletus.[16] This particular context would also explain the presence at the prayer of military officials (*strategos*, *hipparchoi*, and *polemarchoi*), as well as the fact that the *polemarchoi* benefited from additional meat portions. Agricultural concerns are, on the other hand, expressed by the temporality of the ritual: the consecration of the bull is explicitly said to take place at the opening of the sowing period in the fall, while the actual sacrifice would be performed in the month of Artemision in the spring, that is to say, at the beginning of the harvest season, or shortly before.[17] The ritual would therefore frame the whole growing process of the grain. The abundance of crops was obviously a primary concern for the survival of ancient communities, and this connection explains the intervention of a god as intrinsically connected with the fate of the polis as Zeus Sosipolis.[18]

Zeus was not the only deity whom the Magnesians appealed to in such circumstances, but he was associated with Artemis Leukophryene, the patron deity of Magnesia, and Apollo Pythios. A few years earlier in 221/0, Artemis had appeared to the city. As evidenced by an important dossier of inscriptions published in the agora, the Magnesians decided, with the support of the oracle at Delphi, to claim the inviolability of the city and its territory and to introduce the panhellenic and penteteric festival of the Leukophryena.[19] The sacrifice to Apollo Pythios, the god of Delphi, on the altar of Artemis, is perhaps a way to reaffirm this inviolability after a period of crisis. Artemis Leukophryene is also at the center of the Eisiteria, a festival celebrated on the 6th of Artemision, just a few days before the sacrifice to Zeus Sosipolis. The decree concerning the introduction of this festival acknowledged the benefactions that the goddess had granted to the population (πλῆθος) of Magnesia at all times.[20] As we saw in the prayer to Zeus Sosipolis, such matters as the safety and the preservation of the

16 On the peace treaty between Magnesia and Miletus, see above n. 4. On Antiochos III, see Ma 1999, 82–89.

17 On the Magnesian calendar, see Trümpy 1997, 110–111, according to whom the month of Kronion would be contemporary with the Athenian Boedromion, while Artemision would correspond to the Athenian Elaphebolion, or Mounychion. On the sowing and the harvest of grain, see Brumfield 1981, 19–45.

18 On the connection between poliadic deities and agricultural concerns, see Paul 2013a, 273–277.

19 See the foundation document, *I.Magnesia* 16 and Rigsby 1996, 179–279, for the whole dossier.

20 *I.Magnesia* 100 = *LSAM* 33A–B. A decree dated to the late third century has been amended by another one, dated to the second half of the second century, which aims to reinforce the provisions of the first. For Artemis's benefactions, see *LSAM* 33B, l. 8.9: τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῆς γεγενημένων τε καὶ γινο[μένων διὰ] | παντὸς εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ἡμῶν εὐεργεσιῶν.

community were not the concern of the citizens only, but encompassed each and every individual: not only the women and the children, but also the noncitizen inhabitants of the city and its territory. In this context, the provisions concerning the sacrificial division reveal a tension between the all-inclusion of worshippers in the vows preceding the sacrifice and the actual participation in the sacrificial meal, which is limited to a “happy few.”

In this respect, the organization of the sacrifices performed to Artemis Leukophryene at the Eisiteria may offer some perspective. This annual festival was introduced probably during the late third century to commemorate the reinstallation of Artemis’s *xoanon* in her temple, which had just been renovated.[21] It included a procession and a sacrifice, as well as the performance of hymns by choruses of young girls. Unfortunately, the decree is fragmentary and the remaining section does not contain details concerning the sacrifice or the meat distribution that could be compared with the case of Zeus Sosipolis. It does specify, however, that all the inhabitants (κατοικοῦντας) of the city and the land were invited to build small altars in front of their houses and perform additional sacrifices according to their means. The vows that accompanied these sacrifices are oriented toward the health and the wealth of the Magnesians and their wives, and more generally toward the continuity of the community.[22] The addition of several smaller, individual sacrifices to the one funded by the polis aimed to confer a much wider impact to the festival as a whole.[23] It can also be viewed as an expedient to include in the sacrificial feast all the citizens and the inhabitants, who probably would not otherwise have had a share in the central civic sacrifice, as suggested by the example of Zeus Sosipolis.

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21 On the Eisiteria and the cult of Artemis Leukophryene, see Dunand 1978; Deshours 2011, 198–208; Paul 2013b.

22 *LSAM* 33A, lines 42–48: κατευχὴν καὶ παράκλησιν παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους ποιεῖσ[θαι τὴν]|δε· παρακαλῶ πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας πόλιν καὶ χώ[ραν τὴν Μα]|γνήτων ἐπὶ καλοῖς Ἰσιτηρίοις κατὰ δύναμιν οἴκου κεχ[αρισμένην θυ]|σίαν συντελεῖν Ἀρτέμιδι Λευκοφρυηνῆι τῆιδε τῇ ἡμέρ[αι· εὔχεσθαι δὲ] | καὶ Μάγνησιν αὐτοῖς τε διδόναι καὶ γυναιξὶν ὑγ[ί]ει[αν καὶ πλοῦτον Ἄρ]|τεμιν Λευκοφρυηνὴν καὶ γενεὰν τήν τε ὑπά[ρχουσαν σώιζεσθαι] | καὶ εὐτυχεῖν καὶ τὴν ἐπιγονὴν μακαρίαν [γίνεσθαι -].

23 On the interaction between so-called ‘private’ and ‘public’ sacrifices, see Georgoudi 1998b, esp. 330–332 on Magnesia. Similar individual sacrifices recurred at a festival for Antiochos in Ilion (*I.Ilion* 32) and for Arsinoe in Alexandria, on which see Robert 1966; Caneva 2014 (on Arsinoe).

The Lesser Panathenaia in Athens

Regarding the sacrificial division, the case of Magnesia can be compared to the Lykourgan decree regulating the procession and the sacrifices at the Lesser Panathenaia in Athens:[24]

> [...] the *hieropoioi* are to sacrifice two sacrifices, both the sacrifice to Athena Hygieia and the sacrifice sacrificed in the Arrephoreion, as previously, and when they have distributed five portions of meat to the *prytaneis* and three to the nine archons and one to the Treasurers of Athena and one to the *hieropoioi* and three to the Generals and taxiarchs and the usual distribution to the Athenians who are part of the procession and to the *kanephoroi*, they are to divide the rest of the meat into portions for the Athenians.
>
> The *hieropoioi* along with the cattle-buyers, when they have bought the cows from the 41 minas rent from the Nea and have sent off the procession for the goddess, are to sacrifice all these cows on the great altar of Athena after they have selected one of the most beautiful cows for sacrifice on the altar of Nike, and when they have sacrificed them to Athena Polias and Athena Nike, let them distribute the meat from all the cows bought from the 41 minas to the Athenian people in the Ceramicus as in the other distributions of meat. They are to distribute the portions to each deme according to the numbers of members of the procession that each deme provides.[25]

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24 *IG* II^2 334 = *GHI* 81 (c. 335). The inscription is fragmentary and the text raises several problems which cannot be fully tackled here. See notably Schmitt Pantel 1992, 126–130; Rosivach 1991; Brulé 1996; Shear 2001, 73–87. For a comparison with Magnesia, see Chankowski 2010, 400–403. On the Panathenaia, see recently Parker 2005, 253–269.

25 Translation taken from Rhodes and Osborne 2003, nr. 81. B, lines 8–27: [θ]ύειν δὲ τοὺς ἱεροποιοὺς τὰς μὲν δύο | [θυσίας τήν τε τῆι] Ἀθηνᾶι τῆι Ὑγιείαι καὶ τὴν ἐν τῶι ἀρ||[χαίωι νεῶι θυο]μένην καθάπερ πρότερον καὶ νείμαντ||[ας τοῖς πρυτάν]εσιν πέντε μερίδας καὶ τοῖς ἐννέα ἄρ||[χουσιν τρεῖς] καὶ ταμίαις τῆς θεοῦ μίαν καὶ τοῖς ἱερ||[οποιοῖς μίαν] καὶ τοῖς στ[ρα]τηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς ταξιάρχ||[οις τρεὶς καὶ τ]οῖς πομπ[εῦσι]ν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τα||[ῖς κανηφόροι]ς κατὰ (τὰ) εἰω[θότα], τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα Ἀθηναίο||[ις μερίζειν· ἀ]πὸ δὲ τῶν τε[τταρ]άκοντα μνῶν καὶ τῆς μι||[ᾶς τῶν ἐκ τῆς μ]ισθώσεως τῆς Νέας βοωνήσαντες οἱ ἱερ||[οποιοὶ μετὰ τ]ῶν βοωνῶν πέμψαντες τὴν πομπὴν τῆι θε||[ῶι θυόντων τα]ύτας τὰς βοῦς ἁπάσας ἐπὶ τῶι βωμῶι τῆς | [Ἀθηνᾶς τῶι με]γάλωι, μίαν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶι τῆς Νίκης προκρί||[ναντες ἐκ τῶν] καλλιστευουσῶν βοῶν, καὶ θύσαντες τῆ||[ι Ἀθηνᾶι τῆι] Πολιάδι καὶ τῆι Ἀθηνᾶι τῆι Νίκηι ἁπασῶ||[ν τῶν βοῶν τῶ]ν ἀπὸ τῶν τετταράκοντα μνῶν καὶ μιᾶς ἐω||[νεημένων νε]μόντων τὰ κρέα τῶι δήμωι τῶι Ἀθηναίων ἐν | [Κεραμεικῶ]ι καθάπερ

The text distinguishes between two sacrificial sequences, from which the meat distribution also differed. From the first group, meat portions in various quantities were given to groups of magistrates and cult personnel, as well as to "those of the Athenians who marched in the procession" ([τ]οῖς πομπ[εῦσι]ν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις). Afterwards, the rest of the meat was divided among the Athenians, and was presumably added to the meat from the second sacrificial sequence to Athena Polias and Athena Nike, which was to be distributed to the *demos* of the Athenians in the Kerameikos, "as in the other distributions of meat." This wide-scale distribution was determined by demes, and proportionate to the number of demesmen who "escorted" ([πέμπον]τας).

Therefore, the meat distribution in the Lesser Panathenaia operated according to a double standard, which has already been pointed out for the festival in honor of Zeus Sosipolis in Magnesia on the Meander. P. Schmitt Pantel emphasized the tension between a mode of division based on a hierarchic principle determined by political function, and an egalitarian and more "democratic" distribution. She argued that this double standard reflected the dialectic between hierarchy and equality characterizing the Greek polis. She also drew a parallel between the highlighting of public officials in the meat distribution and the hierarchical organization of the procession.[26] According to P. Brulé, the sacrifices at the Lesser Panathenaia reproduced on a much larger scale the usual division of a single animal, including the attribution of honorary portions (*gera*) symbolized by the first group of sacrifices, and also the egalitarian division, following the sacrifices to Athena Nike and Athena Polias.[27] However, this interpretation, convincing for Athens, could not apply to the case of Magnesia on the Meander. First of all, the Magnesian inscription clearly specifies that the priests of the recipient deities obtained their *gera* before the wider division. Second, the meat distribution never extends to the whole civic community. Therefore, the mode of division in Magnesia appears to have been slightly more complex than a simple dialectic between hierarchy and equality, but identifies in fact four different categories of worshippers: (1) the priests and the priestess, who were granted with their usual *gera*; (2) a wider circle of public officials who

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ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κρεανομίαις· ἀπ|[ονέμειν δὲ] τὰς μερίδας εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἕκαστον κατὰ [τ|οὺς πέμπον]τας ὁπόσους ἂν παρέχηι ὁ δῆμος ἕκαστος.

26 Schmitt Pantel 1992, 126–130. See p. 130: "La procession étale selon un ordre précis le *dèmos* athénien et, comme la répartition inégalitaire des parts de viande, laisse apparaître une nouvelle forme de hiérarchie démocratique qui retient pour critère le plus ou moins grand engagement de chacun dans la fonction politique, le banquet au contraire rassemble la communauté civique et dit l'*isonomie*."

27 Brulé 1996.

received a larger quantity of meat; (3) the active participants in the ritual, who marched in the front of the procession; and (4) all the worshippers, who probably attended the festival, but were not entitled to have a share of the sacrificial meat.

Furthermore, both modes of division were intricately linked to the procession: on the one hand, the participants in the procession (*pompeis*) were awarded special portions of meat, and were therefore distinguished from the whole body of the Athenians. On the other hand, the mass distribution is operated in proportion to the number of demesmen who participated in the procession. The Athenian *pompeis* have been variously identified with the marshals of the procession, the conductors of the cattle, or with the various offices that were represented on the Parthenon frieze (*skaphephoroi*, *hydriaphoroi*, *thallophoroi*, etc.).[28] Whichever function they fulfilled, they belonged to the main *corps* of the procession, as did the *sumpompeuontes* from Magnesia on the Meander. As such, they were distinct from the rest of the citizens, who perhaps simply followed at the tail of the procession.[29]

The *pompeis* are supplemented in another inscription from the Asklepieion in the Piraeus, concerning the organization of sacrifices to Asklepios, which has been dated to ca. 370–350, a few years before the Lykourgan decree from ca. 335.[30] The text contains prescriptions that similarly emphasize a twofold division of the meat:

> [...] so that the Athenians can divide the meat in the most abundant way, the *hieropoioi* [...] shall divide the meat from the leading ox (τô μὲν ἡγεμόνος βοός) between the *prytaneis*, the nine archons, the *hieropoioi*, and the participants in the procession. The rest of the meat (i.e., from the other animals)[31] will be shared by the Athenians [-].[32]

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28 Marshals: Shear 2001, 75–76, n. 11. Conductors: von Prott/Ziehen 1896–1907, vol. 2, 94 (after others). Cf. Parker 2005, 267, n. 60. Comparison with the Parthenon frieze: Brulé 1996, 50–51.

29 On the sequence of the Panathenaic procession, see Maurizio 1998, 302; Parker 2005, 260.

30 *IG* II^2 47 (*LSS* 11). For the date of the inscription, see Aleshire 1991, 244–246. On this text, see Parker 1996, 181–183.

31 As the construction μὲν ... δέ (νέμεν δὲ τὰ [κρέ]α τô μὲν ἡγεμόνος βοὸς ..., τὰ δὲ ἄλλα [κρέα] ...) makes clear.

32 l. 32–39: ὅπως δ' ἂν καὶ Ἀθ|ηναῖοι κρέα νέμωνται ὡς πλεῖστα τοὺς ἱεροπ|[οι]ὸς τὸς ἱεροποιôντας ἐπιμε{με}λε̂σθαι τῆς ἑ|[ο]ρτῆς τὸ ἐκ τοῦ δήμο γιγνόμενον· νέμεν δὲ τὰ | [κρέ]α τô μὲν ἡγεμόνος βοὸς τοῖς πρυτάνεσιν | [καὶ τ]οῖς ἐννέ' ἄρχοσιν κα[ὶ] τ[οῖ]ς ἱ[ε]ροποιοῖς [κ]αὶ | [τοῖς πο]μ[π]εῦσιν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα [κρέα Ἀθηναίοις μερί|ζεν -].

The end of the text is lost and the last lines have been supplemented with reference to the example of the Lesser Panathenaia. Provided that the supplement is correct, it may suggest the existence in Athens of a pattern in the meat distribution at the time. But what is especially tantalizing is the parallel that it draws between the position occupied by the sacrificial animal in the procession (ἡγεμών) and the recipients of the meat portions, who undoubtedly also marched in the forefront. This connection invites us to look more closely at the interactions between the procession and the sacrificial division.

Procession and Sacrificial Division

It is a well-known fact that processions in ancient Greece were not formed by an indistinct aggregation of people, but their arrangement and organization were meticulously regulated and controlled, as shown by a number of inscriptions from the Hellenistic period. The epigraphical evidence also insists on the splendor and the beauty of the cortège, which is not only a spectacle to be seen and admired, but also represented a gift in itself to the honored deity. As such, the procession would have offered a representation, often idealized, of the polis itself.[33] In Magnesia on the Meander, as well as in other inscriptions, the verb συμπομπεύειν appears to relate especially to the civic representatives who formed the center, or the *corps*, of the *pompe*.[34]

Among the honors established in Pergamon to celebrate the return of Attalos III after a military victory, a procession departed from the prytaneion toward the extra-urban sanctuary of Asklepios, where the king had first stopped. The procession, to be renewed every year, was led by the priest of Asklepios, and “those who are accustomed” were to join him in the procession (συμπομπευόν-

33 On processions, see more recently Chaniotis 1995, esp. 156–163; Graf 1996; Köhler 1996; Kavoulaki 1999; Gebauer 2002; Chankowski 2005; Viviers 2010; Kavoulaki 2011; Chaniotis 2013. On the participation of youth in processions, see also Chankowski 2010, 383–432.

34 The verb is notably used in sales of priesthoods from Kos, requiring the priest to march in procession along with civic officials and/or winners in crown games: *IG* XII 4, 298 (Hermes Enagonios, 250–200); *IG* XII 4, 330 (Nike, first century). The simple πομπεύειν is used in the sale of the priesthood of Zeus Alseios (*IG* XII 4, 329, first century) with a similar meaning. Proxeny decrees from Euromos associate the participation in civic sacrifices, the granting of a meat portion, and participation in the procession with selected individuals: Errington 1993, 15–19, n° 1, lines 11–19; 2, lines 7–13: μετέχειν | δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἱερῶν πάντων ὧν ἡ πόλις θύηι, καὶ μέ|ριδα αὐτῶι δίδοσθαι· [...] συμπομπευέτω δὲ ἀεί, ὅταν παρῆι, μετὰ τῶν καταλεγομένων εἰς τὰς ἱεροποίας.

των τῶν εἰθισμένων). This phrase is clearly a reference to traditional practices within the polis of Pergamon. After the sacrifice, the magistrates (*archontes*), who undoubtedly took part in the procession, dined together in the sanctuary at the god's expense. This rather confidential gathering contrasts with the assembly who greeted the king on the day when he entered the city. The larger assembly included the priests, the *strategoi*, the magistrates, the winners in the sacred games, the gymnasiarch with the ephebes and the *neoi*, the *paidonomos* with the boys, and all the citizens along with women, young girls, and the inhabitants. In addition to a sacrifice offered by the *demos* on the altar of Zeus Soter, the citizens sacrificed πανδημεί, "among the whole people," by tribes, a way to express the participation of the entire civic community to this royal entry.[35]

Also interesting in this respect is a mid-second-century inscription from Antiocheia ad Pyramum in Cilicia. The stone preserves an amendment to previous, unknown regulations concerning the construction of an altar of Homonoia in the sanctuary of Athena Margasia, in order to commemorate an agreement with Tarsos (Antiocheia on the Kydnos).[36] On the day when the altar was consecrated, a procession and a sacrifice were to take place and be repeated every year. The text describes in detail the arrangement of the procession going from (the altar of) Hestia Boulaia to the sanctuary of Athena: it was led by the *demiourgos* and the *prytaneis*, and the priests, all the magistrates (*synarcheia*), the winners in crown games, the gymnasiarch with the ephebes and the *neoi*, and the *paidonomos* with the boys, were all required to march with them (συμπομπεῦσαι). Then, the sacrifice of two heifers with gilded horns to Homonoia and to Athena was followed by two separate meals: the first concerned the magistrates (*archontes*) and the winners of contests, who also were the ones to take part in the procession, and the meal took place in the sanctuary of Athena; the second meal gathered the citizens by tribes. The inscription gives no further

35 *IvPergamon* 246 = OGIS 332 (139–133), lines 13–18; 26–47. On the attribution of this text to Pergamon, see Robert 1984, 472–489, and Robert 1985, 468–481, for a full commentary. Also see Strootman in this volume. On ritualized entries of Hellenistic kings into cities, see further Chaniotis 1997, 235–238; Chankowski 2005, 199–201; Chankowski 2010, 414–416; Strootman 2014, 233–243. A similar procession was performed to honor Diodoros Pasparos on his return from Rome: *MDAI(A)* 32 (1907), 243–256, n° 4. According to a supplement by Robert 1937, 47–48, the honorand and his children would have been invited to join in the procession (συμπομπευόν[των δὲ καὶ | Διοδώρου μετὰ τ]ῶν παίδων). On these honors, imitated from the cult to the Attalids, see Gauthier 1985, 62–63; Virgilio 1994.

36 *SEG* 12, 511 = *LSAM* 81 (ca. 140). On this text, see now the detailed commentary by Savalli-Lestrade 2006.

detail regarding the meat distribution, either because it followed traditional practices or because it was already regulated in the previous decree, which is now lost; it is tempting to assume that the distribution followed a twofold principle, according to which each victim was reserved for a specific meal.

In other examples, the connection between the participation in the procession and the meat distribution is made even more explicit. A family foundation from Kos introducing a cult for Herakles Diomedonteios restricts the distribution of meat portions to those who took part in the procession (τοῖς συμ[πομπε]ύουσι).[37] Such a prescription may be surprising insofar as the participation in the cult is already limited to the members of the family; it is not however insignificant that it does not appear in the main foundation document, but at the end of a later amendment aiming to ensure the continuity of the cult. Perhaps the fact that meat portions were allotted only to the *sumpompeuontes* helped, in this case, to increase the participation in the familial feast as a whole.

A late third-century foundation from Miletus allocated some funds for a sacrifice to Apollo Didymeus.[38] Every four years, the *paidonomoi* had to send (πεμπέτωσαν) the most beautiful ox to the Didymeia, and to the Boegia the other years. The procession also included boys who had been selected to march, the elected *epistatai*, and the benefactor himself, Eudemos, while he was alive, or the oldest of his descendants after his death.[39] After the sacrifice, the *paidonomoi* distributed the meat to all the boys and all those "to whom it has been prescribed to join in the procession" (τοῖς ἄλλοις, οὓς γέγραπται συμπομπεύειν). This sacrifice is of particular significance: it is performed on behalf of a specific group of worshippers—in this case the members of the palaestra—and comes within the framework of a larger festival organized by the polis. Those who benefited from meat portions were virtually identical with those who took part in the procession, for even if all the boys did not march, the whole group was still represented by a few select individuals.

Similarly, epigraphic evidence attests to the fact that groups or individuals could be invited to march in the procession by providing additional sacrificial animals, which they would then escort to the altar. A decree from Hermione in Argolid welcomes the participation of the citizens of Asine to the Chthonia,

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37 *IG* XII 4, 348 (late fourth-early third century). For a detailed commentary of this inscription, see Paul 2013a, 108–116; see also Carbon and Pirenne-Delforge 2013, 98 (n. 110), who suggest that the Herakleia could be an allusion to a civic festival.

38 *Milet* I 3, 145 (late third century), lines 68–77.

39 On the participation of benefactors in the procession, see Robert 1937, 47–88; Chankowski 2010, 393.

who wished to join in the procession and lead an ox (συμπομπεύειν καὶ ἄγειν βοῦν).[40] When the people of Oropos accepted the invitation of Akraiphia to participate in the Ptoia, they would ask the archon, the *polemarchoi*, and the secretary to send an ox from the city and "themselves join in the procession" (πέμπειν βοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὰ Πτώϊα καὶ αὐτοὺς συμπομπεύειν).[41] An inscription from Eretria regulates the arrangement of the procession at the Artemisia as follows: "The demarchs shall organize the procession in the agora, where the sacrificial animals are sold; first (come) the animals financed by public funds and the beauty prize, then the chosen animals, and afterwards, the animals provided by individuals, if they wish to join in the procession (συμπομπεύειν). All the contestants in music contests shall join in the procession, so that the procession and the sacrifice will be as beautiful as possible."[42] The animals would then march according to a 'top-down' principle: first the one funded by the polis, then those provided by the districts (*choroi*), as specified earlier in the text (lines 26–27), and finally those provided by individuals, if they wished to do so.[43] The text omits the detail of the meat distribution, as its purpose was not the introduction of a new festival, but merely the addition of musical contests and further sacrifices by the *choroi*. These changes would have impacted on the arrangement of the procession, which explains why it had to be regulated once again. It is plausible that the meat was allotted to those who provided the animals, thus allowing each and every one of them to have a share in the sacrificial meal.

40 *IG* IV 679 (third-second century).

41 *I.Oropos* 304 (228–226). On the Ptoia, see Manieri 2009, 63–77 and 88–90 on the present inscription.

42 *IG* XII 9, 189 = *GHI* 73 (ca. 340), lines 35–40: τὴν δὲ πομπὴν καθιστᾶν τοὺς δημάρχους ἐν τ|εῖ ἀγορεῖ, ὅποι τὰ ἱερεῖα πωλεῖται, πρῶτομ μὲν τὰ δ|ημόσια καὶ τὸ καλλιστεῖον, ἔπειτα τὰ κριτά, ἔπειτα | τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ἐάν τις βόληται συμπομπεύειν· συμπο|μπευόντων δὲ καὶ οἱ τῆς μουσικῆς ἀγωνισταὶ πάντ|ες, ὅπως ἂν ὡς καλλίσστη ἡ πομπὴ καὶ ἡ θυσίη γένηται. According to Strabo 10.1.10, the procession at the Artemisia would display 3000 hoplitai, 600 horsemen, and 60 chariots.

43 On the interaction between 'public' and 'private' sacrifices, see Georgoudi 1998b, esp. 328–330 on this inscription. On the identification of the *chôroi*, see Knoepfler 1997, esp. 371–389.

Exclusion vs. Inclusion

Whether due to practical reasons, such as the quantity of meat available, or simply to tradition, restrictions in the meat distribution or in the participation in the sacrificial meal were not uncommon.[44] When sacrifices were performed by smaller groups, such as cult associations, the definition of the worshipping community was perhaps more self-evident. A decree from the Attic *orgeones* concerning the cult of the hero Echelos and the heroines, inscribed in the early third century but copying older regulations, provides some details concerning the meat distribution.[45] On the 17th of Hekatombeion, the sacrifice of a piglet was offered to the heroines and an adult animal—probably a sheep—to the hero. The next day, the hero would receive a second adult animal. The meat from these sacrifices was distributed to all the *orgeones* who attended (τοῖς ὀργεῶσι τοῖς παροῦσι), to the women, who had an equal share (ἰσαίαν), and to the children and the female attendant (probably a slave) who each received up to half of a portion. The only requirement to be entitled to a portion was thus to attend the sacrifice. This stipulation recalls the limitation to the *sumpompeuontes* in the cult of Herakles Diomedonteios on Kos. Conversely, according to the foundation of Poseidonios in Halikarnassos, attendance at the sacrifice was optional and one could obtain an equal portion from the annual sacrifices even *in absentia*.[46] The distribution would be carried out once the honorary portions and sufficient quantities of meat for the meal had been set aside, and, for those who were present at the sacrifice, would come in addition to the meal.

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44 For instance, Rosivach 1994, 54–60, marks a distinction between *epithetoi heortai* and *patrioi thusiai*. The former would have been perceived as additional sacrifices and would have allowed a wide-scale distribution, as opposed to the more confidential traditional sacrifices. See however Parker's objections in his review (Parker 1996, 221–222), who emphasizes the rhetorical element behind such a distinction. In later times, participation in the sacrificial meals also depended on the generosity of benefactors. An honorary decree from Kyme (*SEG* 32, 1243, 2 B.C.–2 A.D.) praises the prytanis Kleanax for having invited to the meal at the Daphnephoria the priests, the winners in sacred contests, magistrates, and *many* citizens (lines 39–40: πόλλοις τῶν πολείταν), suggesting that it was not always the case. Cf. *BE* 1983, 323.

45 *LSS* 20, lines 12–23. The earlier decree perhaps dates to the mid-fifth century. On this text, see Ferguson in Ferguson and Nock 1944, 73–79; Ferguson 1949, 130–131 (with improved text); Jones 1999, 251–254; Ekroth 2002, 140–141.

46 *LSAM* 72, lines 38–44, newly edited with detailed commentary in Carbon and Pirenne-Delforge 2013. Conversely, the foundation of Kritolaos on Amorgos (*IG* XII 7, 515) excludes the absentees from the meat distribution. For other examples of participation *in absentia*, see the contribution by J.-M. Carbon in the present volume.

On a higher institutional level, the limitation in the participation could originate for various reasons, as we see for instance in an inscription from Kolophon-by-the-Sea. The decree, passed by the Council and the People on a proposition by the *neoi* and the ephebes, regulates the introduction of honors to Athenaios, son of Attalos I, in gratitude for his benefactions toward the gymnasium, including the construction of a palaestra.[47] Every year, on the birthday of Athenaios, the gymnasiarch had to perform a sacrifice and organize a race for the *neoi* and the ephebes, while another race for the boys would have been the responsibility of the *paidonomos*. The sacrifice and the race were funded by the polis, and the gymnasiarch received from the *oikonomos* a sum of money, the amount of which would have been previously set by the assembly. From the sacrifice, the gymnasiarch removed portions that were awarded as a prize to the winners of the race, and distributed the rest of the meat to the participants (or to those who used the gymnasium, ἀλειψάμενοι), as well as to the Council, the magistrates (*archontes*), the priests, the *prytanis*, the *prophetes*, the sacred Council, the winners in crown games, the sacred herald, and the secretaries. In this case, the meat distribution reflects the context in which the sacrifice takes place: although it was instigated by a proposition of the *neoi* and the ephebes and was part of an event organized by the gymnasium,[48] the decision ultimately rested with the polis and the sacrifice was financed by public funds. This context explains why the meat distribution was not limited to the members of the gymnasium, but also included a number of civic and religious officials.

As a counterpoint to this limitation, some inscriptions attest a strict control by the authorities as to who was allowed to receive a sacrificial portion. In the deme of Halasarna, on the island of Kos, participation in the cult of Apollo and Herakles was restricted to the registered members of the tribes. At the meat distributions, the leaders of the tribes (*archeuontes*) and the *neopoioi* had to check the names of the worshippers on the list before handing out the portions.[49] Similarly, an inscription from Priene specifies that the meat distribution of a sacrifice was limited to those "who had been inscribed" (ἀπογραψαμένοις).[50]

Conversely, a way of extending the circle of participants in the sacrificial meal was to invite worshippers to provide additional animals for the sacrifice,

47 Gauthier 2006, 473–496 (date: 190–160).

48 Cf. the honorific inscription from Miletus, which praised gymnasiarchs for having distributed the meat of the sacrifices to the *gerousia* (*Milet* VI 1, 368, first century).

49 *IG* XII 4, 103 (ca. 180).

50 *I.Priene* 123, lines 10–11 (first century).

as we saw in the cult of Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia, or in Eretria. In this respect, the epigraphic dossier from Bargylia concerning the reorganization of the cult of Artemis Kindyas is of some relevance.[51] After the goddess had appeared in a time of crisis, the polis decided to allocate a sum of money from the sacred funds for the *boutrophia*: several groups of magistrates were prescribed to purchase and feed oxen for the sacrifice at the annual panegyria. On the first day, the oxen were led toward the extra-urban sanctuary of Artemis, where a contest determined the best *boutrophos* and the arrangement of the procession. After the sacrifice, once honorary portions were set aside for the priests and the magistrates, the meat was distributed on the next day to the citizens by tribes, while the hides and the surplus were sold for the goddess's profit. One of the decrees from the dossier aims to make the feast even more splendid by including the *metoikoi* to the *boutrophia*, thus increasing the number of animals to be sacrificed.[52] As for the magistrates, three elected representatives among the *metoikoi* received a sum of money from the polis to feed oxen for the sacrifice and were invited to march with them in the procession. The inscription further specifies that the meat was distributed to all the *metoikoi* in the same way as for the citizens, "so that they too can have a share of the benefactions of the goddess" (ἵνα καὶ οὗτοι μετέχωσιν τῶν παρὰ τῆς θεᾶς [εὐεργεσιῶν], lines 18–19). However, as the text makes clear, the meat distributed to the *metoikoi* came from the oxen that they themselves provided (τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς [θυ]σίας ταύτης κρέα διανείματωσαν, line 17), which implies that there was, in fact, a clear distinction between the *metoikoi* and the citizens. The inclusion of noncitizens in the civic sacrifice only extended so far, since they always seemed to stay in the margins.[53]

Conclusions

The dossier of inscriptions presented in this paper clearly underlines a correspondence between the procession and the sacrificial division, which reveals itself in various ways. In some cases, the meat distribution would be strictly limited to those who marched in the procession. In a civic context, this limitation

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51 *I.Iasos* 613 (ca. 129–127); EA 1995, 35–39 (second-first century); EA 1997, 153–156 (late second-first century); EA 2000, 89–93 (second-first century). On this dossier, see also Deshours 2011, 261–275; Paul 2013b. On the *boutrophia*, see Chandezon 2014.

52 EA 1997, 153–156. On the participation of foreigners in civic cults, see Krauter 2004 in general, and Deshours 2011, 272–274, for this specific case.

53 Deshours 2011, 272–274.

can be interpreted as a convenient way to circumscribe the participation in the sacrificial meal to those who had been most closely involved with the ritual performance, as in Magnesia on the Meander or in Pergamon. Conversely, when the sacrificial community is more intimate, such a prescription could ensure the full participation of the worshippers, as was perhaps the case in the cult of Herakles Diomedonteios on Kos. In other examples, the meat distribution would follow a double standard, according to which the *pompeis*, or *sumpompeuontes*, were granted a more sizeable portion of meat than the rest of the citizens, as we saw for the Lesser Panathenaia in Athens or the cult of Asklepios in the Piraeus. This last case would more or less correspond to the granting of an honorary portion (*geras*) to the priest, and reveals once more the dialectic between equality and hierarchy that is characteristic of Greek sacrifice.[54] The awarding of a particular portion would not only underline, on a vertical level, the relationship between the priest or the priestess and the recipient deity, but would also reaffirm, on a horizontal level, their particular status within the sacrificing community.[55] Similarly, the highlighting of an individual (or a group of) worshipper(s) whether due to their cultic or political role, or simply as a mark of honor, sets them apart. Yet this dialectic should not be seen as too strict, but as flexible and subject to variations over time and space. As the epigraphical evidence demonstrates, the sacrificial division is not always as straightforward as a binary opposition might be; however, it does highlight various categories of worshippers, the content of which can vary depending on traditional practices existing in each polis, and from one cult to another. Therefore, if the participation in the civic sacrifice can be conceptualized as a series of concentric circles, these should be envisioned as permeable, and not permanent, boundaries.[56]

Interestingly, the dialectic between equality and hierarchy can also be used as a conceptual tool to understand the procession, whose all-inclusive character—insofar as it is representative of the whole worshipping community—has been opposed to the hierarchical principle at the definition of its sequence.[57]

54 On the opposition of hierarchy/equality in the Greek sacrifice, see notably Schmitt Pantel 1992, 127–128. On the sacrificial division in general, see recently Ekroth 2008a; Ekroth 2008b. On priestly shares, see Le Guen-Pollet 1991; Ekroth 2008b, 264–269; on the imagery of honorary portions, see Tsoukala 2009.

55 On the priest seen as a mediator between the human and the divine sphere, see Pirenne-Delforge 2010, esp. 134–135.

56 On concentric circles, see Loraux 1981, 616–617. Cf. Ekroth 2008b, 283–284. The dialectic between equality and hierarchy is also at the core of J.-M. Carbon's study on honorary portions in the present volume.

57 Kavoulaki 1999, 301.

Yet, such a hierarchy and division of roles would not exist *in abstracto*, but would depend greatly on the circumstances:[58] we have seen that many decrees regulated in a meticulous way the arrangement of the procession, with a select group of cultic or civic officials, sometimes referred to as *pompeis* or *sumpompeuontes*, marching at the forefront. By contrast, epigraphic evidence from the Hellenistic period strongly emphasizes the attendance at civic feasts of all the inhabitants, by declaring a cessation of all activities and inviting all the worshippers to wear crowns (*stephanephoria*).[59]

At this point, we should remember that, although it gradually transformed in the Hellenistic period into a spectacle in itself, the *pompe* is first and foremost the escorting of a sacrificial animal toward the altar. In this respect, the correspondence between participation in the procession and inclusion in the sacrificial division, located at both ends of the sacrificial ritual, should not surprise us. The connection is made particularly explicit in the case of Asklepios in the Piraeus, which draws a parallel between the hierarchical sequence of the procession (the leading ox) and the allocation of meat portions from the sacrifice. This link suggests that the granting of honorary portions should be understood at a higher conceptual level rather than as a mere retribution in kind for involvement in the ritual performance, in the sense that it also defines one's specific position within the ritual and/or status within the community.[60]

Finally, the primary meaning of the *pompe* as an escort of sacrificial animals transpires in cases where groups or individuals were invited to participate in the sacrifice when they provided additional animals. They would thus join in the procession to lead their animals to the altar, and then presumably receive the meat once the priestly perquisites had been extracted. In some cases, for instance in Bargylia, the provision of additional sacrificial animals is in the charge of the polis itself and can be compared to the phenomenon known as *parastasis*, which consists of a sacrifice at the polis's expense on behalf of an honored individual.[61] In other cases, the cost of the animal is in the charge of

58 As also pointed out by Chankowski 2010, 392–393; Viviers 2010, 169.

59 On the massive participation in civic festivals, see notably Chaniotis 1995, esp. 148–149; Chaniotis 1997, 246–247; Chankowski 2010, 388; Chaniotis 2013, 31–34. One could also emphasize in this respect the opposition between being an 'active' participant in the procession and being a spectator, although the latter cannot be considered as a 'passive' role strictly speaking. On the procession perceived as a spectacle, see Kavoulaki 1999; Chaniotis 1997, 246–247.

60 This connection can be compared with the fact that the priest is often granted the back leg, from which the divine portion was presumably cut: see Ekroth 2008b, 269.

61 Robert 1960, 126–131; J.-M. Carbon in the present volume.

the guests themselves, i.e., poleis associated with the celebration of panhellenic or regional festivals (Hermione, Oropos) or particular groups or individuals within their own polis (Magnesia on the Meander, Miletos, Eretria). The amplification of the sacrifice would not only increase the prestige of the feast, but also enlarge the circle of participants and ensure that everyone had a share in the sacrificial meal, as well as in the reciprocal favors of the recipient god or goddess, as the inscription of Bargylia makes clear. This inscription is a further example of the permeable and shifting character of the modes of participation in Greek sacrifice. The sacrificial division not only mirrors the procession, but is also a reflection of the polis itself.

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CHAPTER 14

A Network of Hearths: Honors, Sacrificial Shares, and 'Traveling Meat'*

Jan-Mathieu Carbon

Introduction

This paper attempts to survey a somewhat neglected subject: the shares of sacrificial meat granted to the recipients of honorific decrees, primarily in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. A majority of the honors consists of simple portions (μερίς or μοῖρα), and thus appears aimed at fostering the equal participation of the honorand in the community's rites. Sometimes, however, priestly or other substantial prerogatives (γέρας, etc.) were granted. Honorific shares therefore played with a dialectic of hierarchy and equality that is characteristic of Greek sacrifice as a whole: some honors particularly stressed sharing and commensality, while others emphasized privilege and a special relationship with the god and the ritual; occasionally, both aspects could be at play.

Shares of meat were almost inextricably connected to localized rituals of sacrifice and feasting, but some portions could also be sent away to honorands if they were absent. This seemingly contradictory practice is a further instance of a flexible dialectic. In some cases, personal presence was a *sine qua non* requirement for obtaining a share, cementing the actual commensality of the feast; in others, the physical absence of the honored individual was apparently viewed as inevitable and the city therefore undertook the shipping of the portion (sometimes over long distances) as a means of fulfilling the act of sharing the meat.

* This paper has evolved from a section in a joint presentation with Stéphanie Paul at the original conference. I am very grateful to Stéphanie for our discussions in that context, as well as for her comments on this version of the work. Much of what appears here should be read in tandem with her own contribution to the present volume. I also wish to thank the organizers as well as the participants, especially Stephen Lambert, Manuela Mari, Feyo Schuddeboom, and James Whitley, for their questions and comments. As editors, Josine Blok and Floris van den Eijnde have greatly improved the paper, and so have the always insightful remarks and questions of Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge and Stella Skaltsa. Gabriel Macedo and Antonio Ric-

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The honorific mechanisms varied from place to place, molded by a given polis or community to suit its needs, but the commensal ideology was essentially the same.[1] Sacrificial meat was a gift with tangible substance ready for consumption and with intangible value as part of a divine offering, yet it was also an honor that was meant to be shared and eaten together. The hearth of the community received its members and welcomed guests—or meat was sent to the hearth of a distant household. A commensal bond was thus elaborated, linked to the heart of the wider network of honors.[2]

The *Geras* and the Generic Portion

Whenever an animal sacrifice was performed by an individual, or by a Greek polis as a whole, tradition defined the assignment of a special portion from the carcass to the god or to the officiant, usually to both.[3] Sometimes this portion could be shared by both parties, with the bone and fat burnt for the god while the priest received the meat. This type of share of the animal, often called a γέρας, could include such varied pieces as feet and legs, ribs and innards, heads and tails, or parts thereof. Our present understanding of the unity or variety of divine portions remains rather fuzzy, but the plurality of priestly perquisites derived from animal sacrifices is relatively well understood from the epigraphic evidence, though the state of knowledge continues to evolve.[4]

ciardetto amiably discussed the readings of the final visible line of *P. Cair. Zen.* 3 59381 (see at n. 73 below) with me.

1 Contrast the findings of the seminal work of Gauthier 1985, 11 (and cf. p. 129), who speaks—to some extent justifiably—of the "uniformité des honneurs." In this paper, I would prefer to underline several different honorific registers or 'declensions' of honors. But Gauthier is of course right to stress that "il faut que les honneurs correspondent à des valeurs communes"; here, the specific 'common value' of shared sacrifice and commensality will be elucidated. For the elaboration of honors in the Roman period, see Eckhard 2002.

2 Throughout, I use the term 'network' in an avowedly loose and unsophisticated sense, to denote a system of interconnected places and people, identified through direct physical bonds (e.g., shared meat) and/or conceptual ones (less tangible honors, or e.g., the commensality implied by the sharing of meat even in the absence of a directly shared meal). For a recent example of a more elaborate 'network theory' applied to the ancient Mediterranean, cf. e.g., Malkin 2011, esp. 3–64.

3 Sacrificial division and sharing: Ekroth 2008a, 2008b.

4 Divine portions: Ekroth 2011. Priestly portions: the best treatment is still Puttkammer 1912. On rewards for cult personnel and sacrifice 'on behalf of' someone or a group—a different type of honor and of commensal inclusion—see now Naiden 2013, 185–209. See also below n. 40.

Who else was honored at the sacrifice? Naturally, other cultic personnel from a given sanctuary or cult came into play and received special prerogatives. If the sacrifice was put on by the polis, civic officials could be involved, such as senior personnel from the council and other important magistrates, as well as various local notables such as athletes. All would receive a share of the meat, sometimes a special one, sometimes an apparently 'equal' one (an ἰσομοιρία *vel sim.*). Depending on the circumstances, the remaining meat, whether from a small- or large-scale sacrifice, could be shared as evenly as possible among the remaining participants, or simply sold.[5]

So far so good. But another type of honoree may also be a factor in understanding the mechanisms of sacrificial division, though this person is not often considered in studies of Greek sacrifice, which tend to focus on ritual norms or archaeological evidence.[6] This honoree is the individual (and his or her family) that is the object of an honorific decree, whether issued by the polis itself or by another group. Indeed, several of these inscribed decrees signal that honored individuals were to be included in the sacrificial division as a mark of distinction, in exchange for past benefactions or due to other forms of gratitude. Typically, a portion of meat is either to be given directly or sent to the honorand. Most significantly, this honor appears to differ from cases where the γέρας is offered to people as a reward for their participation in the ritual and for the inherent position they occupy within the sphere of the sacrifice. Here, instead, the honorand appears at first sight as one who was not a constituent member of the sacrificing community, but who now, by virtue of the honor accorded to him, becomes a part of the *cercle étendu* of that group.

Consideration of the relevant epigraphic material generates several questions: what did it really mean to offer a γέρας or another portion of sacrificial meat to an individual other than a priest? Did it matter if the honoree was present and participated in the sacrifice, or could he or she be absent? Was the meat merely a symbolic gift prescribed by a decree, perhaps exchangeable for a sum of money, or did it represent something more? And how does the consumption of this portion of meat resonate with our understanding of Greek sacrifice as a whole?

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5 Examples abound; see for instance the two different modes of hierarchical sacrificial division defined in *LSAM* 32 (Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, 197/6 to 180s), with the discussion of S. Paul in this volume.

6 Ritual norms: Carbon and Pirenne-Delforge 2012. Archaeological evidence: see most recently the papers collected in Ekroth and Wallensten 2013, and the iconographic study of Tsoukala 2009.

It may not be possible to answer these questions definitively in all cases, since the available testimonies represent an inevitably partial corpus of evidence. The honorific decrees which specifically award portions of meat come from a wide but disparate group of places in Greece (usually outside Athens, with some exceptions), the Aegean islands and Asia Minor, and primarily from the Hellenistic period. Furthermore, though the present volume focuses on the polis and its institutions, the topic at hand will require that one understand the polis in a wide and encompassing sense. The evidence for honorific portions granted to individuals other than officiants and priests often stems from tribes or other civic subgroups, from associations, as well as from other communities (e.g., *koina*) in Asia Minor whose status is not always overtly affirmed or does not readily correspond with the Classical concept of a polis. Despite these caveats, however, the information that can be gleaned from honorific decrees is rich and surprisingly diverse. At the same time, there are trends that cut across geographical and chronological divides, and that can help sketch the major mechanisms through which Greek cities awarded prerogative shares of meat to honored individuals.[7]

Civic and subcivic honors that bestow a portion of meat resemble norms that define priestly prerogatives (again the γέρας and related concepts), but only to a limited degree. Though it can be a rubric qualifying all priestly prerogatives, the word γέρας was occasionally used of a portion of meat granted to priests, but whose precise anatomical definition is unclear. This is the case on Chios, for instance, where sales of priesthoods defining meaty perquisites are abundantly attested in the Classical period.[8] The γέρας from Chios does not readily reveal what it might entail, but it will have been obvious from local tradition.[9] Yet it is worth stressing that, on Chios at least, a γέρας always remains a γέρας: it is a special portion which is almost certainly not to be conflated with a generic one. Priests and priestesses on the island can at the same time be granted a simple μερίς or μοῖρα, an apparently more 'equal' or generic portion of meat, extracted from the remaining carcass, presumably after all of the spe-

7 Meat and sacrificial portions could also be seen as forming a further and wider element of what John Ma has called "the grammar of honours" (specifically in relation to honorific monuments); Ma 2013, 17–24.

8 Cf. *LSS* 78, line 8; Graf 1985, 429–430 I.Ch. 4, line 3 (the plural γέρα in this case); *NGSL* 20A, line 7: [μ]ọῖραν καὶ γέρας.

9 One instance, Graf 1985, 432 I.Ch. 7, appears to mention (line 4) a γέρας δεξιọ̣[ς] (according to a new, provisional edition in Carbon 2016). This might therefore be a specific portion from the right-hand side of the carcass. See also *NGSL* 20A, cited directly above, for the patent distinction between a γέρας and a μοῖρα.

cial portions (such as the γέρας, but also others, like the tongue and the entrails) have been removed.[10] This generic portion given to the priests underlines that, while they did receive special portions such as the tongue and entrails, they also had an equal share in the sacrifice, just like the other participants. At a later date, other priests and priestesses receive a similarly nonspecific share, sometimes explicitly defined as the fruit of an equal division of the animal (ἰσομοιρία).[11] This sort of dialectic between the more hierarchical and egalitarian privileges of priests is manifest throughout the relevant material, and it forms an essential aspect of any larger understanding of Greek sacrifice.[12]

In most honorific decrees that include grants of sacrificial portions, a share of meat is also simply qualified as a μερίς or μοῖρα. Perhaps the most basic form of this prize that could be granted to a given individual, it is listed alongside other significant privileges, such as a crown, or dinner in the prytaneion, or other substantial honors such as proxeny and the right to sit in the front row of the theater (προεδρία).[13] Such grants of sacrificial portions occur in honorific decrees throughout the Hellenistic period and across the Greek world. Interestingly, however, they tend to be more common in certain localities and they appear to stem from civic subgroups, perhaps more so than from the polis itself—though any attempt at precise statistics would be rash.

This is the case in Athens, for example, where the practice of granting honorific portions of meat was circumscribed and properly belongs to the realm of the demes and of associations. Each participating member of the sacrificial community would of course have the right to obtain his portion, and so this right was, we may presume, only exceptionally conferred on an honorand. Indeed, a small number of cases attest to this practice, and all stem from demes which honored individuals from other localities in Attika—Athenians often lived in demes other than their traditional one.[14] A further example may be

10 Portions may occasionally be singled out as 'sacred' or 'divine', using the key terms ἱερὰ μοῖρα (Dimitrova 2008) and θεομοιρία (Paul 2013, 346–351). This usage might also be implicitly the case on Chios, but the absence of any precise qualifier makes it uncertain.

11 On equal sharing, see Schmitt Pantel 1997, e.g., 127–128 (discussing the Panathenaia in Athens); more widely, again Ekroth 2008a. Cf. e.g., the priestess of Artemis Pergaia, who is granted the following privilege, *LSAM* 73 (Halicarnassus, third century), lines 21–23: ἔστω δὲ ⟨ἡ ἱ⟩έρεια ἰσόμοιρος | ἐ⟨ν⟩ ταῖς γυναιξὶν τῶν πρυτάνεων τῶν θυομένων | δημοσίαι.

12 For a parallel yet also different exploration of this theme, see the chapter by S. Paul in this volume.

13 For proxeny, see generally Marek 1984, and now Mack 2015. On the category of 'greatest honors' (μέγισται τιμαί) and related privileges awarded to benefactors, see Gauthier 1985, 31 and *passim*.

14 On migration and mobility in the demes of Attika, cf. Taylor 2011. The following examples

found in a pair of decrees of the Paraloi in the Piraeus, an association devoted to the hero Paralos, which granted portions to individuals from other demes.[15] In all instances, the phrase employed suggests that the honor consisted of a generic or 'equal' portion of meat that was distributed to the honorand at the same time as the other portions were repartitioned among the established members of the community (e.g., νέμειν … αὐτῶι μερίδα). This single share of meat explicitly comes "from all the sacrifices" which the deme or association puts on (ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν, ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἱεροῖς, etc.), thus implying that the honor would recur and be granted for life (other elements of the text reinforce this meaning, for instance words like ἀεὶ, or expressions like ὅταν θύωσι, etc.). Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the share of meat confers on the individual in question a measure of equality with the members of the body decreeing the honors. The honorand receiving the meat participates in the rites and gets a share "just as the others" (cf. the phrases καθάπερ Ἐλευσινίοις *vel sim.*). But there were also limits to this inclusion and to the status of temporary membership. A decree from the Piraeus makes clear that the honorand will be granted this equivalent portion, and also the right to eat it and to feast together with the demesmen, but in fact this privilege did not apply to all the sacrifices that the deme makes. The individual in question was not a full-fledged deme-member and there were still some rites at which it was lawful or traditional (νόμιμον) that only the Piraeans participate: the honorand was explicitly excluded from participating in such occasions.[16]

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may be adduced: honors for a general from Hagnous decreed by the Eleusinians, *IG* II^2 1187 (ca. 350), lines 20–23: νέμειν δὲ αὐτ|ῶι καὶ μερίδα ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν καθά|περ Ἐλευσινίοις τὸν δήμαρχον | τὸν ἀεὶ δημαρχοῦντα; decree of Lamptrai for an Acharnian, *IG* II^2 1204 (end of fourth century), lines 12–17. Cf. also the decree of the *genos* of the Eumolpidai for a certain Tlepolemos, who was rewarded with portions during the Great Mysteries and those at Agrai: *IG* II^2 1231 (end of fourth century). See Wilhelm 1929, 163–168, and now Wijma 2014, 120–123 for further discussion.

15 *IG* II^2 1254 (ca. 350–300), lines 10–12, a decree for Meixigenes son of Mikon, from the deme of the Cholleides; and *SEG* 37, 102 (ca. 300), lines 10–11, in honor of Konon son of Kleisthenes Athmoneus.

16 Honorific decree for Kallidamas son of Kallimedon of the Cholleides, *IG* II^2 1214 (ca. 300–250), lines 10–17: καὶ ὅταν θύωσι Πειραιεῖς ἐν τοῖς κοιν|οῖς ἱεροῖς νέμειν καὶ Καλλιδάμαντι με|ρ̣ίδα καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Πειραιεῦ|σιν καὶ συνεστιᾶσθαι Καλλιδάμαντα με|τὰ Πειραιέων ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς ἱεροῖς, πλὴν | εἴ που αὐτοῖς Πειραιεῦσιν νόμιμόν ἐστ|ιν εἰσιέναι, ἄλλωι δὲ μή. This forms a parallel with exclusions of foreigners, occasionally found in the epigraphic evidence for ritual norms, e.g., the inscription on the lintel of the temple of the Archegetes on Delos, *LSS* 49 (fifth century): ξένωι οὐχ ὁσίη ἐσι⟦ἐ̣ν̣α̣ι⟧. See Wijma 2014, 122–123 for a parallel conclusion about the character of certain specific rites as exclusive to deme members.

Beyond Athens, there are numerous and widespread instances of honorands simply receiving a similar type of generic portion "from all the sacrifices" or "from all the civic sacrifices." To cite one example from the beginning of the Hellenistic period, the famous and lengthy decree of Nesos praising Thersippos joins the honors of *sitêsis* in the prytaneion and of προεδρία with the granting of a sacrificial portion (μερίς) whenever the city makes a sacrifice.[17] This award is further augmented by being affirmed in perpetuity to whomever is the eldest male descendant of Thersippos. Later in the Hellenistic period, the city of Mylasa reveals a remarkable number of grants of single portions to individuals. Most of these occur as part of honorific decrees issued by the tribes of the city and its subdivisions (*syngeneiai*).[18]

Yet, quite often, a simple μερίς or μοῖρα was plainly not enough, or at least not reckoned to be a sufficient honor in and of itself. Some grants from the community (*syngeneia*) of Sinuri near Mylasa, for instance, award a variety of more specific portions of meat with a minimum weight (half-*mina* or *mina*), perhaps in the context of commending foreigners who were welcomed as new members of the community, though the inscriptions in question are fragmentary and difficult to interpret with absolute certainty.[19] Additional specifications are sometimes stipulated in the honorific decrees of associations, such as that the

17 *IG* XII,2 645 (ca. 320–315), lines 32–35: δέδοσθαι δὲ καὶ σίτησιν ἐμ προτανη[ΐ|ω, κ]αὶ ὄτα κε ἀ πόλις ἰροπόηται μέρις δ[ι|δώσ]θω Θερσίππω καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων ἄϊ τῶ γ[ε|ραι]τάτω· κάλησθαι δὲ καὶ εἰς προεδρίαν. For this designation of the eldest male descendant, usually in the context of a priest or a sacrificial agent, cf. Carbon and Pirenne-Delforge 2013, 74–79 (cf. also *NGSL*, Lindos ca. 250, lines 2–4: θυέτ[ω] | τῶν φυλετᾶ[ν] | ὁ γεραίτατ[ος]).

18 The standard phrase is "give him/them (while living) a portion from all the sacrifices put on by the tribe/*syngeneia*": δίδοσθαι ... (ἕως ζωῆς) μερίδα ἐκ τῶν θυσιῶν πασῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς φυλῆς/συνγενείας συντελουμένων (*vel sim.*). Tribe of the Konodorkondeis: *I. Mylasa* 119, 120(?). *Syngeneia* of the Aganitai (belonging to the tribe of the Hyarbesytai): *I. Mylasa* 121. Tribe of the Otorkondeis: *I. Mylasa* 113, 117, 127. Cf. also *I. Mylasa* 136 and 140 (unknown tribe). Given the importance of the tribe of the Otorkondeis at Mylasa, one of these decrees appropriately gives what is tantamount to a civic honor from all the sacrifices funded by the *demos*, *I. Mylasa* 101, lines 57–58: δ⟨ε⟩[δόσθαι δὲ] | αὐτῶι καὶ [με]ρ[ίδα ἐκ] τῶν θ̣υσιῶ[ν] {ΑΝ} [τ]ῶν [ὑπ]ὸ τοῦ δήμου [συντελουμ]ένω⟨ν⟩. Cf. also the *demos* of Olymos: *I. Mylasa* 869, and the *syngeneia* at Sinuri: Robert, *Sinuri* 11, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.

19 *Sinuri* 29, lines 2–5: διδο[- | σάρκα μὴ ἐλ]άσσονα μναΙ̣Ε̣[- | - το]ῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῶν | [σάρκα μὴ ἐλ]άσσονα ἡμιμνα[ίου -]; *Sinuri* 30, lines 3–6: ἐκ τῆς θυ]σίας κρέα διδ[ο - | -]Ν σάρκα οὐκ ἐ[λάσσονα μνα| - τοῖς] τε παιδίοις [αὐτοῦ? - | σάρκα οὐκ ἐλάσ]σονα ἡμιμν[αίου -]. Cf. the commentary of Robert, *Sinuri*, p. 48, who hypothesizes that these texts honored foreigners assimilated into the *syngeneia*; see notes 14 and 16 above for the phrase "just as the (members)," in some deme and associational decrees from Athens.

portion of meat be given to the honorand raw rather than cooked, which was the usual practice in distributions of meat (κρεανομίαι).[20]

Several honors augment the generic portion by simply doubling it.[21] Instead of a μερίς, then, a διμοιρία or similar portion is granted to the honorand.[22] Again, this behavior appears to be typical of subcivic groups, such as tribes and other associations. But this type of doubled honor also seems to have had a long-standing tradition, and one that relates to the prerogatives of priests and other notable figures.[23] On Chios again, but also elsewhere, a priest could be granted an analogous double portion of meat.[24] The same complex dynamics of hierar-

20 This appears to be the case in a decree of the association of Ikadeis at Mesembria, *IG Bulg* I^2 308(7/septies) (third century), lines 5–10: … δεδό||[χθαι τοῖ]ς ἰκαδεῦσι στεφανῶ||[σαι] ạụ̣τοὺς τοῖς Διοσκου||[ρίοις] καὶ διδόμεν αὐτοῖς με||[ρίδα ὠ]μὰν καθ' ἕκαστα Διοσ||[κούρια δ]ιὰ βίου. In lines 8–9, με||[ρίδα] was proposed by J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* in *REG* 85 (1972) 431 no. 298, correctly adopted by Mihailov in *IG Bulg* V 5091; [ὠ]μὰν is my further suggestion, especially given the small space apparently available in the lacuna. Cf. also the honorary decree issued by the *koinon* of the Lagnokeis (found at Kys), Cousin and Deschamps 1887: 308–309 no. 2, lines 17–24: δε[δόσθαι δ]|ὲ αὐτῷ καὶ μερίδα α[. c. 4 . ἐν τ]|αῖς συνόδοις ἑκάσ[του μην|ὸ]ς χωρὶς τῆς ἰδίας· [ὁ βραβευ]|τὴς καὶ οἱ ἐπιμήνιοι [διδότωσ]|αν τὰς μερίδας α[ὐτῶι καὶ στεφ|α]νούτωσαν καθ' ὅ[τι καὶ προγέ|γ]ραπται. Here, I would suggest restoring ἁ[πλῆν], i.e., a single portion, possibly meaning at the same time an "uncooked" or "raw" one (cf. *LSJ* s.v. ἁπλῶς II.c). The lacuna should again be fairly small; otherwise something like α[ἴγειαν] ("goat meat") might also be possible. The phrase χωρὶς τῆς ἰδίας here would appear to suggest that the honorand, Aristeas son of Myonides, was already a monthly official for one of the meetings of the *koinon*.

21 Cf. also the doubling of *sitêsis* in a late Athenian inscription, *SEG* 21, 506 (AD 229/31), line 16: καὶ σείτησιν τὴν ἐν τῇ θόλῳ καὶ πρυτανείῳ ἐπὶ διμοιρίᾳ [καὶ] …

22 Cf. e.g., a decree of an unknown *koinon* (found at Kurbet Köy, perhaps Koliorga) honoring a group of individuals, *I. Stratonikeia* 801, lines 12–13: [δίδ]οσθαι δὲ καὶ μερίδα δ̣ι[πλῆ]ν̣ ἑκάστω[ι | διὰ πάσης τῆ]ς ζωῆς; *I. Kaunos* 33, lines 42–45, prescriptions for individuals who contribute to an association: δί[δοσθαι δὲ αὐτῶι | κα]ὶ διμοιρίαν τῶ̣ν ἐ[πὶ τῶν βωμῶν ἀεὶ θυομέ|νων]; and a *koinon*(?) from Thasos, *IG XII, Suppl.* 367 (first century), lines 3–5: δίδοσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ διμοιρίαν, ὅ[ταν] | ἐπιμηνιεύηιτ[αι] ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ.

23 For instance, Spartan kings received a double share of meals, cf. Xen. *Lac.* 15.4 (cf. Antiphanes, fr. 81, K-A); generals could receive a portion of the booty double that of the soldiers: *SEG* 40, 524 (Amphipolis, ca. 200), col. III, lines 2–3.

24 Chios: Graf 1985, 429–430 I.Ch. 4, line 6 (μοίρας δύω); 430–431 I.Ch. 5, lines 8–9 ([μ]|ερίδα δίκρεων); 431 I.Ch. 6, lines 7–8 (the pleonastic and emphatic κρ|έων δύο μοίρ[α]ς δ[ί]κρεως). Cf. the prerogative of the priest of Zeus at Kasossos, *I. Mylasa* 942 (second century), lines 9–11: λήψε|[τ]αι δὲ ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς πάσαις | [δ]ιμοιρίαν. Portions called δίκρεας or κρέας, as well as more specific anatomical parts, are received by a wide group of cultic personnel, but also bronze and ceramic workers during the sacrifice to Zeus Polieus on Kos: *IG* XII,4 278 (ca. 350), lines 52–55; on this text, see now Paul 2013, 38–40.

chy and egalitarianism are at play here, since doubling or augmenting a generic portion could be viewed as tantamount to saying that "all are equal, but some are more so than others" (to paraphrase Orwell).

A concentrated local case for such augmented perquisites is the city of Methymna on Lesbos. Here, in the honorific decrees issued by meetings of tribes or other subdivisions (*chiliastyes*), a double portion of meat would typically be granted at the same time as a crown.[25] The use of the verb "to crown" (στεφανόω) for this honor might be taken as implying that it was merely symbolic or that a monetary equivalent was given to the recipient instead of an actual sacrificial share.[26] But in fact, the specification of the species of the animal from which meat was granted at Methymna (beef, lamb), and the occasional addition of other substantial portions of meat, make this supposition extremely unlikely.[27] In one case, an individual and his descendants are rewarded with double the regular portion of meat, as well as with a substantial additional portion of beef, weighing 5 *minai* (ca. 2 kg).[28] Rather than a share from all of the sacrifices, this meat comes from a single ox that was offered annually, but it nonetheless represents a prestigious and valuable honor in kind.

Further honorific decrees and grants of proxeny seem to take these meaty rewards to yet another level, offering as a recompense portions that are usually

25 The most basic example is the abbreviated series of honors mentioned in the decree of the *koinon* of the *chiliastys* of the Proteis, *IG* XII,2 500 (mid-Hellenistic), lines 15–16: διμοιρίαισι, σίτ[ησι] | Μ̣Λ̣[..]τειω.

26 This formulation is also attested once on Tenos, in an honorific decree of the *patra* of the Andrakleidai for one Theomnestos, *SEG* 40, 688 (ca. 300), lines 8–10: στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῶι στε||[φ]άνωι ἀπὸ ἑκατὸν δραχμῶν καὶ διμοιρί||[αι] τῶν κοινῶν ἀρετῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης … In the second case, στεφανῶσαι with the dative is simply to be read as "honor," i.e., "he is to be honored with a double portion from all the common (sacrifices), for his …"

27 Double portion from sheep: *IG* XII,2 505, lines 20–23 (*koinon* of the tribe Aiolis), ἀνακηρύσσοντος τοῦ κήρυκος "ἡ φυλὴ στεφανο[ῖ] | Ἀριστο[φάνην] Ἀριστοφῶντος φυλαρχήσαν[τα φι]||λοδοσίας ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς αὐτὴν στεφάνωι [τῶι ἐννό|μ]ωι, δι[μοιρ]ίαι [μη]λέαι." Added portion of beef: *IG* XII,2 502 (*koinon* of the *chiliastys* of the Phokeioi), lines 9–11: ἐπεί κε σ[υν]τελέη ἀ χέ[λληστυς τὰ ἶρα | το]ῖς θέοισι στεφά[ν]ωσθαι αὖτ[ον στεφάνω τῶ | ἐννόμ]ω καὶ διμοιρία κ[αὶ] σάρκι βοε[ία - -].

28 *IG* XII,2 498 (222–205, reign of Ptolemy IV), lines 14–26: ἐπεί κε συντελέη ἀ χέλληστυς | τοῖς θέοισι τὰ ἶρα, δίδων αὔτω καὶ | ἐκγόνοισι δι[μοιρί]αν καὶ σάρκα πεντα|μναῖον ἀπ[ὸ τῶ β]όος τῶ θυομένω τῶ | Δὶ τῶ Σώ[τηρ]ι, ἔως κε ζώωσι, καὶ ἀνα|καρύσσην αὔτοις ὄτι "ἀ χέλληστυς | στεφάνοι Πραξίκλην Φιλίνω καὶ ἐκγό|νοις διμοιρία καὶ σάρκι βοεία πεντα||[μ]ναίω συντελέσσαντα τὰ ἶρα τοῖς | θέοισι καττὸν νόμον καὶ τᾶς χελ|λήστυος ἐπιμελήθεντα ἀξίως"· | [ἀνακαρύσσην δὲ κ]αὶ ἐν τοῖς Πτολε||[μαίω γενεθλίοισι - - -].

the prerogative of priests or other members of the cult personnel. In at least one case, we read of the honorand being sent honorific portions (τὰ γέρα) "just as the priests (receive)" ([κα]θάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν).[29] Here, a γέρας is clearly a γέρας. It should be interpreted as a special portion of meat which was anatomically related to (and symbolic of) the divine share and which a priest would typically receive. In less limpid contexts, however, γέρας might be a word used to designate any honorific or generic portion. We thus cannot be sure that every award of a γέρας in an honorific decree signals a privilege identical or analogous to that of a priest.[30] On the whole, it appears that some decrees wished to include honorands in many aspects of the sacrificial community and to place them on a relatively equal level with the other participants—though the individuals did not necessarily attain the status of full-fledged participants in all of the community's sacrifices. Other decrees passed even more substantial honors, commensurate with those of priests, thus assigning to the honorees a very distinctive and important status during the ritual and the feast.

Presence and Participation

In nearly all of the examples cited above, it may be presumed that the grant of a sacrificial portion was conditional on the physical presence of the honorand at the sacrifice and the ensuing feast.[31] The direct verbs used in the context of giving, handing, or distributing a portion to the individual in question (δίδωμι,

29 An honorific decree of the tribes at Istros for a certain Meniskos, *IScM* I 58 (second century), lines 24–27: ἀποσ|[τεῖλ]αι [δ]ὲ αὐτῶι καὶ τ[οῖς] ἀπογόνοις | [αὐ]τοῦ ἐν ταῖς σ[υνόδοις τ]αύταις τὰ γέρα | [κα]θάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν. In practical terms, it is not exactly clear how this sacrificial division was envisaged: did Meniskos and his descendants receive identical portions to those of the priests in certain meetings, i.e., from different animals, or perhaps portions "of a similar kind"? The use of the article, τὰ γέρα, may reinforce the former interpretation. On the sending of portions, see further below.

30 Even in cases where a group receives γέρα in addition to those of a priest—as for example the Phyleomachidai on Kos, *IG* XII,4 274 (ca. 350), lines 18–20—it is clear that these are religiously significant portions rather than nonspecific ones (in this particular case, notably a shoulder that is anatomically connected to the θεομοιρία). But grants of γέρα persisted in honorific and funerary decrees into the Roman period, when the portion may perhaps have become more 'generic', e.g., *Aphrodisias & Rome* 28, lines 10–11: … δίδοσθαι αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῶν] | δημοσίᾳ θυομένων γέρα; id. 29, lines 9–10: δίδοσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ | τῶν δημοσίᾳ θυομένων γέρα.

31 On civic feasts, notably called δημοθοινίαι, and the sharing of meat occurring there, see Schmitt Pantel 1997, 268–270.

λάμβανω, νέμω) notably confirm this requirement. That was surely the standard practice, though there may also have been some room for a more accommodating state of affairs, for instance reserving the piece of meat in question for an absentee, and then giving it later. It is similarly assumed that priests and other officiants usually needed to be present to obtain their γέρας, though we sometimes find the possibility that they might be absent yet still receive their due.[32] Several other elements can be seen as confirming that it was expected that honorands would come in person (or perhaps send a delegate) to collect their shares of meat.

If we pay close attention to the language of the decrees, additional parameters of this 'meaty' type of honor are discernible. One aspect is the duration of the award. Aorist infinitives, such as those used in the decree from Tenos adduced above (see n. 26), indicate that the privilege of receiving a portion of meat occurred only on a single occasion. Since this Tenian example was a 'one-off' affair, it would naturally be expected that the honorand was himself present to receive his due. But that was perhaps the exception rather than the rule. By contrast, most of the inscriptions employ present infinitives which suggest more long-lasting honors, a hypothesis which is confirmed by an assortment of other details. Though the duration of the award of a portion of meat was perhaps not the lifetime of the honorand by default, several inscriptions make it clear that the honor was indeed for life (ἔως κε ζώωσι at Methymna, etc.). Still others add that the privilege will be affirmed in perpetuity to the descendants of the recipient (ἐκγόνοις, or to the eldest male descendants). What is more, many of the inscriptions make it explicitly clear that the portions are to derive from all civic or publicly funded sacrifices or, in the case of tribes and associations, "from all the sacrifices."

These aspects, the duration and perpetuation of the award, seem aimed not only at maximizing the privileges, but also, perhaps, at allowing an honored foreigner ample opportunity to occasionally attend the rites in question. If this foreigner happened to be a metic or a resident in the place conferring the honors, then the sacrificial share(s) operated as a mechanism of partial integration into the community's religious life.[33] Since they do not give any indication to the contrary, most decrees likely assume that the honoree

32 Detailed allowances are made for the possible absence of the priest in *I. Oropos* 277 (387–377), but it seems clear that he was nonetheless expected to receive his usual perquisite from all the sacrifices (lines 25–36). A similar situation appears to be the norm on Chios: Graf 1985, 430–431 I.Ch. 5, lines 9–14; cf. I.Ch. 4, lines 7–10.

33 See esp. Blok 2009 on the right of "sharing" in sanctuaries and rites (μετουσία or μετέχειν τῶν ἱερῶν) as a condition and corollary of citizenship, and now Wijma 2014 on the integra-

would appear in person, or that his descendants would present themselves and attend the rites to receive a share of meat. Part of the problem with reconstructing this form of participation in the sacrifice is that we are often poorly informed about the origins and whereabouts of the recipients of honorific decrees. In the Athenian deme decrees briefly surveyed above, the honorees are all citizens and members of other demes: given the high degree of mobility evident in Attika, it may reasonably be presumed that the honorees either resided in the demes passing the honors or that they could personally attend the rites of the groups which honored them in order to receive their due share.[34] Other cases are murkier, since we are missing ethnics or other telling details. It is difficult to surmise what would happen if the individual in question did not show up; perhaps the portion was simply not awarded in such a case.

Distributions of meat, whether at the cult site itself or in the agora, normally only concerned those who were in attendance.[35] For instance, the sharing of meat from the feast called *koureion* at Thebes on the Mykale is particularly detailed in this regard, specifying that the distribution is made "by a head count" to all the locals, as well as any citizens (probably male, perhaps of Miletus) who happen to be present.[36] The foundation of Kritolaos at Aigiale on Amorgos, which benefits the city with a set of new sacrifices, formulates a distribution of meat which includes everyone except those absent (the key terms

tive function of sharing in the civic sacrifice for metics. For a wider study of 'inclusivity' and 'exclusivity' in sanctuaries and sacrifices, see Krauter 2004, esp. 53–113.

34 See again above, with n. 14.

35 This practice is familiar from other public distributions. For example, the 'Grain Law' from Samos imposes a residency requirement for measurements and distributions, while making some allowances for temporary absences of citizens: *IG* XII,6 172 (ca. 250), lines 58–60: ποιείσθωσαν δὲ τὴμ μέτρησιν ἀπὸ | νουμηνίας ἕως δεκάτης (of the given month), τοῖς δὲ ἀποδημοῦσιν ἐὰν ἔλθω|σιν ἕως τριακάδος. In terms of sacrifice, a rare exception appears to be the distribution of equal portions of meat to absent relatives in the family (and periodic *thiasos*) of Poseidonios at Halikarnassos, Carbon in Carbon and Pirenne-Delforge 2013, 99–114 (ca. 285–245), lines 42–43: μερίδας ποησάντωσαν ἴσας καὶ ἀποδόντω|σαν ἑκάστωι μερίδα τῶν τε παρόντων καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων. Out of a desire for maximum inclusivity, these portions were presumably kept or preserved (e.g., with salt or through pickling) until the unavailable family members returned.

36 *I. Priene*[2] 416 (ca. 350), lines 23–26: τοὺς δὲ ἱροποιοὺς παραλ|αβόντας τὰ κρεῖα τῶν κουρείων καὶ τὰ | αὐτοὶ θύουσι νέμειν μερίδας κεφα⟨λ⟩η⟨δ⟩ὸν | πᾶσι Θηβαίοις καὶ τοῖς πολίταις ὅσοι ἂν | [⟨παραγίγνωνται⟩?] (there is empty space at the end of the inscription; the last word was left uninscribed). For a discussion of this text, with an inference about Milesian control, see Thonemann 2011, 196–197. On civic distributions of meat, see S. Paul in this volume.

are the verbs παραγίγνομαι and ἐπιδημέω).[37] Other distributions of meat, in cities and groups such as in Athens, followed this pattern, while in other cases the meat was explicitly sold rather than freely distributed to all participants.[38] From some sacrifices, meat could readily be taken away, but a great number of inscriptions also famously affirm that there is to be "no take-out" (οὐκ ἀποφορά *vel sim.*) from certain sacrifices.[39] In such cases, feasting would take place on the spot and absentees would not receive anything.

In this connection, it is also worth noting a further type of honor, one which has already been well discussed by Louis Robert, called παράστασις.[40] This entailed the 'provisioning' of a supplementary sacrificial animal for the honorand as part of an existing sacrifice. Though more rarely attested, there are a few salient examples of this type of honor. On Samos, the Ptolemaic *strategos* for Karia, Aristolaos, is commended by the city and—between the mention of proxeny and priority seating—presented with the gift of a "provisioning of sacrificial animals for all the sacrifices which the city puts on."[41] Another case is the Delphic decree for Polygnota of Kyme, a chorus-accompanying harpist (χοροψάλτρια): she is invited to the common hearth in the prytaneion, and is

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37 *IG* XII,7 515 (end second century), with the corrections of Gauthier 1980, 211–213, lines 55–58: καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἀποδιδότωσαν [το]ῖς̣ τε πολίταις πᾶσιν τοῖς παρα|[γε]νομένοις εἰς τὴν Αἰγιά-[λη]ν [καὶ παροίκοις κα]ὶ ξένοις ⟨καὶ⟩ τοῖς παρα|[γε]νομένοις Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶ̣ν καὶ τῶ̣ν ụἱ[ῶν] κατὰ ẹ̀ṿνέα χωρὶς πα|[ρακειμ]ẹ́νων. Cf. also the distribution of grain funded and defined in this text, lines 70–74: … σιτομετρείτωσαν δ[ὲ | οἱ] ἐπιμεληταὶ ὠνησάμενοι σῖτον πύρινον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀργυρίου, διδόν|[τ]ẹς τῇ προτεραίᾳ τοῖς τε πολίταις τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσιν καὶ παροίκοις | [κ]αὶ ξένοις τοῖς παρεπιδημοῦσιν τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἑκάστῳ χοίνικα, | [τ]ῶν δὲ παίδων ἥμισυ χοίνικος.

38 Note e.g., the irregular pattern of distributions of meat (νέμεν) and sales of raw meat (ἀποδόσθαι : ὀμά) listed in the accounts of the deme of Skambonidai, *IG* I³ 244 (ca. 460). On this text and its inclusion of μέτοικοι, see notably now Wijma 2014, 103–108.

39 The phrase (and its variants) is most often found as a brief indication in sacrificial calendars. For the material from Kos, see recently Paul 2013, 358–364.

40 Robert 1960, 126–131; see his discussion for further examples, and the few discussed here. Outside of the register of παράστασις *stricto sensu*, we could also add cases where a group or community awards a sacrificial animal for a procession and sacrifice "on behalf of" a given individual: cf. e.g., *ID* 1520 (post 153/2), lines 51–52, an ox bearing the inscription "τὸ κοινὸν Βηρυτίω̣ν [Πο]σειδωνιαστῶν ὑπὲρ Μαάρκου Μινατίου τοῦ Σέξτου"; this sacrificial occasion was followed by a feast (ἑστίασις, line 75).

41 *IG* XII,6 120 (inscribed in the Heraion, ca. 280–246), lines 14–17: εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πρόξε|νον τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Σαμίων, ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτῶι | καὶ ἱερῶν παράστασιν πάντων ὧν ἂν ἡ πόλις συν|τελῆι, δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ προεδρίαν. The phrase is also heavily restored in *IG* XII,6 1224, lines 8–10, an earlier (fourth century) honorific decree from Ikaria for Pausimachos of Byzantion.

provided with an animal (probably a sheep) to sacrifice to Apollo.[42] The aorist forms in that text appear to suggest that, contrary to the honors accorded to Aristolaos, this was a 'one-off' affair: Polygnota was only invited this once, presumably during her actual visit to Delphi, and accorded a single extra animal for the sacrifice.[43]

In the case of Aristolaos, the situation is more complex, since the honor of an additional animal appears more durative and applies to any sacrifice which the city performs. Generally speaking, this also seems to be the case in a decree of the (*koinon* of the) tribe Aiolis at Methymna on Lesbos. The tribe honors its official, the phylarchos Aristophanes, with crowns for life as well as the lifetime provision of a female lamb for a sacrifice to Athena.[44] The sacrifice intends both to curry divine favor and to affirm a social bond, since it is explicitly to be made "for the health and safety of the fellow-tribesmen." The honors are admittedly smaller than those for the general Aristolaos: only one animal per year, it would seem, for a single sacrifice to Athena. More crucially, Aristophanes was an agent of the the sacrifice, being a local member of the tribe and one of its officials (at least for a time). Aristolaos, by contrast, cannot be assumed to have been present during "all the sacrifices which the city puts on"; in fact, since he was the general responsible for all of Karia, it should be presumed that he was usually absent. As a representative of royal power, however, the community no doubt felt the continued need to pay its respect to him.

Accordingly, if the sacrifices were performed in Aristolaos's absence, Robert reasonably supposes that he would be sent his share from the supplementary animal on each occasion.[45] This remains possible, though it is not specified in the text (the question of the sending of portions *in absentia* will be discussed further below). More recently, Anne Jacquemin, treating the same inscription, goes further in supposing that honorees such as Aristolaos would have received the entirety of the meat from the supplementary animal, after the

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42 *FD* III.3: 249 (86) lines 16–18: καλέσαι δὲ αὐτὰν καὶ ἐν τὸ π[ρυτα]||ṇεῖον ἐπὶ τὰν κοινὰν ἑστίαν· παραστᾶσαι δὲ αὐτᾶι καὶ ἱερεῖον θῦσαι τῶ[ι Ἀπόλ]|λ̣ωνι; see also now *Choix Delphes* 208 for this text.

43 Jacquemin 2008, 227 appropriately noted this aspect of the honor accorded to Polygnota: "exceptionnel … lors d'une seule occasion."

44 *IG* XII,2 505 (late Hellenistic?), lines 15–18: τοὺς δὲ ἐπιμηνίους τοὺς ἀεὶ γινομέ|νους παριστάναι αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῶν μισθουμένων ἱερεί|ων ἄρνα θηλεῖαν, τὸν δὲ θύειν τῆι Ἀθηνᾷ ὑπὲρ ὑγιείας | [κ]αὶ σωτηρία[ς] τῶν συμφυλετῶν.

45 Robert 1960, 130: "On doit admettre que, s'il est absent, on lui enverra une part de la victime offerte pour lui et que cela aussi fait partie de la παράστασις ἱερῶν."

usual perquisites had been removed for the god and the priest.[46] According to this interpretation, the objective of the παράστασις would be not only to admit or highlight the participation of the honorands in the rites of the community, but also to grant them a very sizeable amount of meat.

The latter part of this conclusion may be doubted. In the absence of further or more compelling evidence, it remains highly doubtful that Aristolaos, and even the phylarchos Aristophanes, would have received the totality of the remaining animal carcass from the extra animals financed on their behalf. Though the award of παράστασις did not necessarily represent an inherent financial benefit for the honorand, then, it appears to have been a mechanism through which the community could both increase its sacrifices while honoring an individual as the associated subject of this augmentation. What is more, this practice can be seen to have created a deep bond of reciprocity between the city and the honorand. The lamb sacrificed in Aristophanes's name honored Athena and was also explicitly aimed at the welfare of the whole community: the meat shared from it would have benefited everyone; in this case, there will have been an alimentary benefit for Aristophanes himself. And when the sacrifice for Aristolaos was done by proxy, the sharing of the extra meat—even if not directly with the occasionally absent honorand—would have accomplished a similar result and signified an increase in commensality. The benefactor's name was also perhaps invoked or recalled on the occasion, which would have constituted the 'symbolic capital' of the accolade.

That presence and direct participation constituted a norm for receiving shares of meat is also demonstrated by a few instances where the decrees explicitly state that this is to be the case. In these communities, one finds what is tantamount to an explicit residency requirement for participation in the civic sacrifice and for receiving shares of meat. A proxeny decree for a benefactor called Stephanos, inscribed around 300 at Euromos, grants him (δίδοσθαι) a share from all civic sacrifices. It makes clear that he had the right to participate directly in the rites (μετέ[χει]ν) and to take part in sacrificial processions along with selected individuals, but only when he is present in the city (ὅταν παρῆι).[47] In other words, the meaty share was only given to Stephanos when he was actually in attendance and when he personally participated in the sacrifice.

46 Jacquemin 2008, 227, arguing that the individual who was a recipient of παράστασις "en avait le bénéfice religieux (dans son rapport personnel à la divinité) et matériel (puisque la viande lui revenait, une fois prélevées la part du dieu et celle du prêtre)."

47 Errington 1993, 15–18 no. 1 (ca. 300, reign of Pleistarchos), lines 11–13 and 17–19: μετέ|[χει]ν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἱερῶν πάντων ὧν ἡ πό|λις θύηι καὶ μερίδα αὐτῶι δίδοσθαι· | (…) | … συμπομπευέτω δὲ ἀεὶ | ὅταν παρῆι μετὰ τῶν καταλεγομένων | εἰς {Σ} τὰς ἱεροποίας.

A decree from Aigosthena honoring an athlete called Perigenes attributes (δίδοσθαι) a portion from an annual sacrifice to him—a lacuna has regrettably intervened and does not let us know which sacrifice was meant—but the decree explicitly adds that this will only apply "as long as he resides in Boiotia" (viz. as long as he stayed within the area of the Boiotian league).[48] Another later decree from the same city honors a Megarian and did not perceive the need to include a similar requirement, no doubt because the individual is also granted the right to own and build a house at Aigosthena (ἔγκτησις γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας), and thus would be expected to reside in the city and participate in the local festival, the Melampodeia.[49]

In other cases, we are probably justified in deducing that a sort of residency or attendance requirement was tacitly implied by the honor of a sacrificial portion. At the very least, there was an assumption or a hope that the honorand would personally participate in the rites to which he was now invited. In other words, the award of a simple sacrificial portion (μερίς, μοῖρα) may have been more or less equivalent to according an individual the right to participate in civic rites (μετουσία or μετέχειν τῶν ἱερῶν).[50] This sort of privilege is perhaps even more commonly found than that of a portion, and it must often have entailed the right to a share of meat when the honorand was present and could partake in the rites.[51] But note that μετουσία can also denote more simply "access" or a "right to enjoy the sanctuaries," for instance in order to perform private sacrifices. Given the polyvalence of ἱερά, the precise signification of the phrase is often elusive.

While these privileges might at first glance appear equivalent, the grant of a portion does place a particular emphasis on the sharing of meat and on com-

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48 *IG* VII 219 (ca. 224/3–192), lines 6–7: … δίδοσθαι δὲ καὶ μερίδα ἐκ [- - -] | καὶ κατ' ἐνια[υτ]ὸν ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τᾶ[ς θυσίας], ὅσον κα χρόνον ἐμ Βοιωτίαι ἐπιδαμ[ῇ]. Cf. also, e.g., the more substantial portion (the whole left leg), that is awarded to the victor of the torch-race during the Hermaia on Kos: *IG* XII,4 298 (early third century), lines 61–62 (the right leg goes to the priest). Aigosthena is thought to have been part of the Boiotian league from ca. 224/3–171: cf. still Robert 1939, 118–122 and see n. directly below.

49 *IG* VII 223 (ca. 192–146), honors for Apollodoros son of Alkimachos of Megara, lines 21–24: δίδοσθαι δὲ [καὶ] μερίδα α[ὐτῷ ἐ]|κ τῶν Μελαμποδείων καὶ καλ[εῖσθαι] | αὐτὸν εἰς προεδρίαν, καθάπερ [κα|ὶ τ]οὺς ἄλλους προξένους. For this text, see now Robu 2011, with ample discussion and an argument for dating it shortly after 171, when Aigosthena left the Boiotian league to rejoin the Achaean league (of which Megara was a part).

50 See above with n. 33 for the integrative function of this right and privilege.

51 A full catalogue would be prohibitively lengthy here. For a succinct example, see *I. Keramos* 3 (early Hellenistic), a proxeny and citizenship decree of the city, lines 9–11: καὶ μετουσίαν πάντων | καὶ ἱερῶν καθάπερ Κεραμί|οις.

mensality over and above a simple 'right' or the possibility to participate. It was a special mark of status in and of itself and, as we have seen, some portions were augmented or doubled to make the honor more important and distinctive. As Louis Robert suggested, the explicit granting of a portion and the audible invitation (καλεῖσθαι) to participate in civically funded (δημοτελεῖς) sacrifices, which are for example found in an inscription from Sardis, constituted a more conspicuous and significant honor than merely being granted a right to participate (μετουσία *vel sim.*).[52] At least one other case, from Amyzon, seems to confirm Robert's impression. There, the honored individual, from Phokaia, is rewarded with citizenship as well as participatory rights in the rituals or sanctuaries (ἱερῶν), but this rather vague privilege is complemented by a more specific honor: he is also specifically to be sent a γέρας from all the civic sacrifices.[53] An honorific portion of meat usually implied a basic form of participation and feasting, but it could also signal a more prominent form of these notions, such as a γέρας or a public invitation.

Absence and Sending

In several other instances, however, it is no doubt correct to assume that the recipients of honors normally would not be participants in sacrifices. Acclaimed individuals, especially those who were the recipients of proxeny, were usually absent from the polis and its sacrifices, or at least non-residents for significant amounts of time in any given year. Honors, such as calling those persons to the prytaneion for a meal, would therefore have been occasional privileges at best, much like the privileged seating reserved for them in the theater. A related method of developing and maintaining links with honorands was the sending of gifts of friendship (ξένια) abroad. This gift was typically per-

52 Robert, *Sardes* pp. 14–15, discusses the term δημοτελής in this context, and the invitation performed out loud (p. 15): "C' est un privilège tout à fait du même ordre que l' invitation au prytanée, c' est-à-dire aux repas officiels de la cité, pris en commun par certains magistrats et par divers privilégiés." On this specific inscription, see below n. 59.

53 *Amyzon* 15 (November/December 201), lines 21–23: καὶ μετουσίαν ἱε||[ρ]ῶν καὶ ἀρχε⟨ι⟩ῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ὧν καὶ Ἀμυζονεῖς με||[τέ]χουσι πάντηι; for the 'sending', lines 23–25: πέμπε[σ|θαι δὲ] αὐτῶι καὶ γέρας ἀπὸ τῶν δημοτελῶν θυσιῶν καθότι καὶ τοῖς | [-]. In the final missing line, read [ἄλλοις εὐεργέταις], as in *Amyzon* 37, line 14; this would have been inscribed on another block below, as Robert himself noted. See also Ma 2002, no. 10, with further discussion.

formed on a single occasion, and usually involved a sum of cash, but it could also include animals, meat, and other goods.[54]

Similar to these occasional perks, and contrary to the residency requirement that was outlined above, some of the honorific decrees explicitly mention the sending of meaty perquisites to honored individuals who are presumably absent from the sacrificial proceedings or from the polis as a whole.[55] In such cases, the verbs used to denote the bestowing of the portion clearly indicate that the meat was conveyed to the recipient over some distance (πέμπω, ἀποστέλλω). The exact distance is often unclear, but this 'sending' appears to be an even more important honor than the right to participate or to a share of meat, since it implies that a good deal of care was taken to ensure that the honor was well and duly received.

In at least two instances, this special form of recognition is reserved for the principal and most distinguished benefactor of a cult, or its founder. The famous Archippe at Kyme, benefactress of the entire community, is said to be sent a priestly portion (γέρας) from two sacrifices performed on the newly constructed altar of the bouleuterion, for the duration of her lifetime.[56] In this case, the decree probably assumes her absence from the proceedings, not due to any prolonged leave from Kyme itself, but simply because, as a woman, she was not normally expected to directly assist at the sacrifices taking place in the civic council. The prerogative portion of meat will then have been conveyed to her household. More enigmatic and more exceptional is the inscription of the community (*koinon*) of the Dollamenoi at Uruk which recognizes one Artemi-

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54 Cf. e.g., *IScM* III 3 (and the more fragmentary no. 5, both from Kallatis; early third century), lines 10–12: καλέσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς πρυτανεῖο[ν | τὸν βασιλέα]· ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ ξένια τοὺς με|[ριστάς]. The aorist tense here again suggests that these privileges were accorded only a single time. Cf. a similar phrase in an acceptance decree of the Leukophryena, perhaps also from Kallatis or a city of the Pontic region, *I. Magnesia* 62 (ca. 200), lines 41–42: δοῦναι δὲ καὶ ξένιον [- ἑκάστωι αὐ]|τῶν (the *theoroi*) τὸ ἐκ τοῦ μερισμοῦ [-]. See also the intriguing word ἀποστόλον (a convoy or a packet?) as one of the rewards granted (perhaps along with ξένια, restored) in a decree of Kos honoring Naxian judges, *IG* XII,4 135 (ca. 280), lines 50–53. More widely on ξένια, see Herman 1987; Schmitt Pantel 1997, 40–41, 163–168; and Cinalli 2015, for a brief treatment with a useful catalogue of sources.

55 Jacquemin 2008 has provided a brief analysis of the question.

56 *I. Kyme* 13 VI (ca. 130–100), lines 59–62: … τοὺς δὲ διαγραψαμέ|νους τὰ διάφορα ἐπιτελεῖν τὰς θυσίας ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ κατεσκευ|ασμένου βωμοῦ ἐν ἑκατέρῳ μηνὶ (Thaxios and Terpheios) τῇ δωδεκάτηι καὶ πέμπειν ἀπὸ τῆς θυσίας | Ἀρχίππῃ γέρας ἕως τοῦ ζῆν αὐτήν. Cf. *SEG* 33, 1035–1041 for the texts, and Jacquemin 2008, 231 with further references. See esp. van Bremen 1996, 153–155, on female benefactors (such as Archippe) in relation to the usual (male) norms of feasting and commensality.

doros, who had donated a piece of land for a sanctuary to the god Gar.[57] The Dollamenoi set up a statue of the benefactor and celebrated his birthday with a sacrifice, from which a sacrum or tail (ὀσφύς) is to be sent to him as a perquisite. It is unclear why Artemidoros is thought to be absent from these celebrations, but what is clear is that the special portion granted to him is one that has symbolic resonances: it was sometimes offered on the altar as a divine portion, and at other times presented as a priestly prerogative. It was a very special honor indeed for one who was in some ways both the founder and the recipient of the cult.

Aside from a few other sparse examples, the community of Hellenistic Amyzon presents the most interesting case study for the sending of portions to absentees.[58] Grants of portions of meat from civic sacrifices regularly (though perhaps not always) feature in the honorific decrees of the city during this period.[59] All of them refer to the portion as a γέρας which is granted "from all the sacrifices funded by the *demos*": it is possible that it was a single priestly portion coming from one of the many animals sacrificed during major festivals.[60] At least three of these honorific decrees refer to portions being sent (πέμπεσθαι), while a further two (or more) simply stipulate that the portion is to be given (δίδοσθαι). At first glance, this might make us think one of two things: either there was some flexibility in the vocabulary employed in these decrees and both verbs are to be taken as roughly equivalent or there was a more meaningful distinction between the two verbs—i.e., portions were given or sent depending on the precise circumstances—and thus some flexibility in the actual honorific mechanisms employed by the community of Amyzon.

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57 Inscription from Uruk (Warka), *I. Estremo oriente* 140 (AD 110), lines 14–18: παρειστᾶν αὐτῶι | ἱερόθυτον (an animal) καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἱερο|θύτου πέμπειν αὐτῶι Ἀρτεμι|δώρωι ὀσφὺν εὐσεβείας | καὶ εὐνοίας ἕνεκεν; cf. already Robert's notes on this text, Robert 1960, 130 with n. 1.

58 See also Gauthier 1985, 37–38 on Amyzon, and the decree from Sardis for a Seleucid officer in the service of Antiochos III, presumably a foreigner, *Sardes* 1 (214–189), lines 1–4: … [πέμπεσθαι? δὲ αὐτῶι ἀ]|πὸ τῶν δημοτ̣[ε]λ̣ῶν θυσ[ιῶν γέρας· κα]|λεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς θυσίας τ[ὰς δημοτε|λε]ῖς καὶ εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον [ὁμ]οίως. As Jacquemin 2008, 230 observes, probably correctly: "On note que le décret prévoit deux possibilités: l'envoi qui suppose normalement l'absence et l'invitation qui requiert la présence." Cf. also Ma 2002, no. 40 for this text.

59 Robert in *Amyzon* p. 123, noted the frequency of this honor in the decrees of Amyzon. Not always: cf. e.g., *Amyzon* 16 (though fragmentary).

60 Cf. Robert in *Amyzon* p. 123: "Naturellement la part n'est donnée que sur les sacrifices offerts par l'État, qui dispose des chairs, compte tenu de ce qui revient au sanctuaire."

Given the small sample of documents, it is impossible to be completely sure about which of these interpretations is the most sound.[61] Of the two instances of portions being "given," one concerns a certain Hermias son of Pankrates, who undertook an embassy to Antiochos III at his own expense, on the subject of restoring sacred slaves.[62] Unlike some other honorands, Hermias does not appear to have been officially considered a benefactor (*euergetes*), he is only praised and granted *gera*, a number of honorific portions (as are his descendants). Since he does not appear with an ethnic identification, he may be presumed to be a citizen of Amyzon, and this will then explain the use of the verb δίδοσθαι. But that reasoning probably cannot hold true in the decree relating to the Ptolemaic general Margos.[63] After being honored as a benefactor, the decree simply states that Margos will from now on be given a γέρας, and that he is also to be publicly summoned (ἀνακαλεῖσθαι) to the front rank during the sacrifices and the festival.[64] Does this entail that the privileges would only be given to Margos if he attended the festival or the sacrifices in question, or should we assume that "giving" is equivalent to "sending" here?

Whatever the case may be, it is clear that in the other three cases from Amyzon, the portions had at least the possibility of being sent to the honorand, probably over some distance.[65] For instance, one of the texts is a citizenship decree praising a certain Menestratos son of Agathokles from Phokaia.[66] This man had been appointed *epistates* of the sanctuary (the Artemision) by Antiochos III. Now, he was honored with various privileges at Amyzon itself, and with portions of meats, presumably for his lifetime. The decree may well have envisaged the possibility that he would reside elsewhere in the future, perhaps back in Phokaia.[67]

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61 *Amyzon* 23, paying tribute to the sons of Melaineus who acted courageously in critical circumstances, would have been an interesting addition to the available group, but both the verb and the γέρας are missing in lines 28–29.

62 *Amyzon* 18 (203/190), lines 13–15: δίδοσθαι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ γέρα ἀπ[ὸ τῶν δη]|μοτελῶν θυσιῶν· τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ ὑπ[άρχειν] | τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ. Cf. Ma 2002, no. 14.

63 *Amyzon* 3 (273), lines 11–16: δίδοσθαι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ | γέρας ἀπὸ τῶν δημοτελῶν ἱερῶν τῶν θυομέ|[ν]ων Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι.

64 More categorically, Jacquemin 2008, 230 comments that the verb δίδοσθαι "laisse entendre que la part sacrificielle ne serait donnée qu'en cas de présence à Amyzon."

65 In *Amyzon* 38, the recipient of the privilege is unknown, but he can be presumed to have been a foreigner since he is awarded citizenship (πολιτεία). He is also designated as an εὐεργέτης and the γέρας is interestingly affirmed in perpetuity to his descendants (as in the case of Dionysios below).

66 *Amyzon* 15, see above n. 53.

67 The last of the three 'sending' decrees, *Amyzon* 37, salutes one Dionysios, a benefactor

In spite of this relatively coherent body of material at Amyzon and elsewhere, we may well wonder if the sending of a portion actually took place, and if not, whether this is then to be read as a symbolic gesture. Despite any reasonable skepticism as to whether honorific portions were actually sent to their intended recipients, there are some probative elements which ought to lead us to accept the tangible reality of this practice. As Robert Parker has keenly observed, private sacrifices in ancient Athens defined a circle of friendship and represented a form of familial intimacy. The standard practice was to invite family and friends to the occasion, but "[a]n alternative (or perhaps a mark of lesser intimacy) was to send out portions of sacrificial meat to friends by carrier, like slices of wedding cake; the slaves who distributed these μερίδες traced out on their journeyings the networks of ancient Athens."[68] It was only logical, so Parker's reasoning goes, to extend this network of friendship and reciprocal benefaction to the sphere of international diplomacy in the Hellenistic period: precisely the situation we find at Amyzon.[69]

Both Parker and Jacquemin appear to privilege the notion that such a network developed within a short range of its center: a circle of friends in Athens or a sanctuary like Amyzon and its immediate entourage; other possibilities abound.[70] But what about the possibility of sending meat over a fairly long

of uncertain origin (lines 1–5 refer to the great financial contributions that he secured on behalf of the community); cf. lines 13–16: πέμπεσθαι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ γέρας ἀπὸ τῶν [δημοτελῶν] | θυσιῶγ, [κ]αθότι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐεργέτ[αις· ταῦτα δὲ | ὑ]πάρχειν [α]ὐτῶι καὶ ἐγγόνοις.

68 Parker 2005, 43; among the sources he cites is Theophr. *Char*. 17.2: ὁ δὲ μεμψίμοιρος τοιόσδε τις, οἷος ἀποστείλαντος μερίδα τοῦ φίλου εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν φέροντα "Ἐφθόνησέ μοι τοῦ ζωμοῦ καὶ τοῦ οἰναρίου οὐκ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλέσας". For "the one carrying" the portion, cf. the announcement of the Παράνυμφος in Ar. *Ach*. 1049–1050: ἔπεμψέ τίς σοι νυμφίος ταυτὶ κρέα | ἐκ τῶν γάμων; see also Ephippus fr. 15.11–13.

69 Parker, "Préface," in Mehl and Brulé 2008, vi: "pas simplement la manifestation d'une diplomatie hellénistique embarrassée, mais une extension à la sphère diplomatique d'une pratique parfaitement familière au niveau domestique: à chaque fois que quelqu'un sacrifie on s'attend à ce que soi[en]t envoyées des parts aux amis absents …"

70 Cf. Jacquemin 2008, 228: "les verbes πέμπειν et ἀποστέλλειν ne signifient pas forcément un envoi au loin." A further, though rather unique case, now comes from the cult regulations of a group (κοινόν) honoring the Attalids, perhaps in the area of Apollonia in Mysia: Müller and Wörrle 2002 (cf. *SEG* 52, 1197; 168/4). Under the rubric of honors (Στεφάνων, line 6), it is stipulated that the Attalid king and queen, as well as a large group of Pergamene officials (lines 8–12), could be sent a priestly portion from the sacrifices performed by the group: ὧι δ' ἂν τῶν προγεγραμμένων καὶ γέρας προ[σ]|ενεχθῆ ἢ σκέλος ἢ ὦμος ἢ ὃ ἂν προσφωνήσηι … Part of the cultic association's vocation will presumably have been to honor these dignitaries with priestly portions such as legs and shoulders (or

distance, say from Amyzon to a benefactor residing in Phokaia? A relatively neglected source both for understanding this question, and for those studying Greek sacrifice more generally, is the famous archive of papyri belonging to Zenon of Kaunos.[71] Here, it is possible to find evidence of the transportation of select cuts of meat, potentially over quite long distances. Though the documents fall outside the scope of civic sacrifice and of honorific decrees, several papyri in this archive are clearly receipts for portions of meat sent by workers to Zenon, though whether in his capacity as master, friend, or titular priest for a cult is far from clear.

To take one evocative example, a certain Amyles—probably Amyles Herpekysios, a local man of Egyptian descent who took care of some of properties for Zenon while he was in Memphis or otherwise absent on his duties—sends a short letter as a receipt for various meats which constitute honorific shares "at (or from) the lot of land" (ἐπὶ τῆς μερίδος; in other cases one finds ἀπὸ τῆς μερίδος).[72] Amyles lists various portions that would properly belong to a priest, or at least were quite valuable perquisites: besides goose meat, which is more particular to Egyptian ritual, we find a shoulder, a leg, a rib or side of meat, and other significant bits and pieces:[73]

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forelegs) or any other portion directly requested by the honorand (the remarkable προσφωνήσηι), and to send these as gifts back to Pergamon (as the verb προσφέρω can be seen to imply). Thus, we have here another instance of a Hellenistic commensal network, albeit a more intricate and regional one. Cf. also the discussion of Müller and Wörrle 2002, 205–208.

71 On the Zenon papyri, see generally Clarysse and Vandorpe 1995.

72 μερίς is the usual term for a plot of land in Egypt (see *LSJ* s.v. [3])—more specifically a subdivision of a nomarchy—and so would appear not to refer to sacrifice or butchery. For Amyles Herpekysios (an Egyptian father) of Akanthopolis, see *PSI* 6 560 (20th October 257), line 6: [Ἀμολῆς Ἑρπε]χ̣ύσιος Ἀκανθοπολίτ[ης]; *P. Cair. Zen.* 1 59112 (26th November 257); *P. Cair. Zen.* 4 59549 (21st December 257); *P.Cair.Zen.* 2 59173 (25th May 255 or 254), line 47: Ἀ̣μολῆς Ἑρπεχύσιος Ἀ̣κα̣ν̣[θοπολίτης. -ca.?-].

73 *P. Cair. Zen.* 3 59381 (ca. 257–255). On the text, note the following: ὦμος, i.e., ὦμον, cf. *IG* XII,4 278 (Kos, ca. 350), line 19, for a similar mistake; πλεράν, i.e., πλευράν. As far as I can tell, ἡμιπλέριον is unattested; but cf. *NGSL* 21 (Thasos, ca. 430–420), line 8, for the diminutive πλεύριον, "a small rib-portion," of which this could therefore be the half (for the division of the animal carcass into two halves, cf. *LSJ* s.v. ἡμίκοπος I–II, citing Hsch. for a similar construction). Another portion of meat attested in the final line is more difficult to reconstruct; the traces printed here remain uncertain, though an accusative ending seems clear. A photograph of the papyrus is available (2018) by clicking on the "Images" link at: http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.cair.zen;3;59381.

Ἀμυλῆς Ζήνωνι χαί-
ρειν. ἀπέστιλά σωι
ἐπὶ τῆς μερίδος ὦ-
μος α′, σκέλος α′, χή-
νεον α′, πλερὰν α′,
ἡμιπλέριον καὶ
[.]ρ̣[.?.]ι̣ν κ̣α̣ὶ̣ [... ca. 7 ...]
- - -

Other, more fragmentary papyri testify to the apparent regularity with which such portions might be sent, notably from Arsinoe (Krokodilopolis) in the Fayoum to other locations where Zenon was busy (probably in Memphis and Alexandria).[74] We are no doubt to imagine the conveyance of goods and meat up and down the Nile, sometimes perhaps over a hundred kilometers or more—in other words several days of travel by boat.[75]

These receipts from the Fayoum should therefore make us suspect that we may be missing much of the larger picture of the transportation of honorific portions from animal sacrifices. Outside of Egypt, one might easily imagine similar transactions of meat and the transportation of honorific shares. Anne Jacquemin has rightly pointed to salting as a mechanism for preserving meat, as well as to the potential for (zoo)archaeological investigations to illuminate this issue.[76] Though the overall picture remains imperfect, then, it still ought

74 Cf. also the gifts from one Menes residing in Arsinoe, who sent a slave called Donax to bring the portions of meat, *PSI* 5 505 (20th July 257), lines 4–7: ἀπεστάλκαμεν δέ σοι Δόν̣α̣κ̣[α κομίζοντα τὰς] παραγενομένας μερίδας, | παρὰ Μεγακλέους τοῦ ἐπὶ τ[- - -]ν̣ μόσχειον, παρὰ Σατυρίωνος |τοῦ ἐκ Κύπρου οἰκονόμου σκέλος μόσ[χειον, παρὰ ?Στ]ρ̣άτωνος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν | προσ-ταγμάτων πλ̣ε̣υ̣ρ̣ά̣ν̣ [μόσχου? - - -]. Cf. also *P. Cair. Zen.* 5 59807 (ca. 257), with my restorations in lines 1–2: [- - -] Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. ἀπεστάλκαμέν σοι ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ [- - - μέριδος] | [- - - ?μόσχο]υ ὦμον. ἀπόδοτε δὲ καὶ Σίμῳ[νι] καὶ Πτολεμαίωι τὴν παρ' ἡμῶν | ἐ[πιστολήν.] | ἔρρωσο.

75 There is a wealth of material in the archive concerning such matters, for instance *P. Cair. Zen.* 2 59191 (6th December 255), a letter from Artemidoros to Zenon asking him to send sacrificial supplies by any boat available, in preparation for a festival. Other receipts are more specifically concerned with gifts of friendship (ξένια), perhaps consisting of live animals or ones that were cooked in their entirety, as a list sent by Panakestor of Kalynda (Zenon's predecessor) attests, *P. Mich. Zen.* 108: ξένια παρὰ | Πανακέστορος | Καλυνδέως | κριόν | δελφάκιον | Χῖον, "a (whole?) ram, a piglet, and (a jug of) Chian wine." For animals sent as ξένια, cf., e.g., Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.3 (an ox).

76 See Jacquemin 2008, 232 on salting (citing Theophr. *Char.* 9.2), and noting a shipwreck (233 n. 44, ca. 440–425) where a pseudo-Samian amphora containing beef ribs was found. On various forms of meat preservation, see Frost 1999.

to make us suppose that the transportation of sacrificial meats over relatively long distances was both feasible and put into practice.[77] When a city or another group decreed this special and no doubt costly honor, claiming not just to give a portion, but explicitly sending it, we should accordingly take it at face value: the meat was expedited to the intended recipient, having been preserved in some fashion if necessary.

Flexibility and Commensality

As we have seen, honorific mechanisms varied from city to city, and from group to group. They can even vary within a city itself. At Methymna, the tribes of the city employed an assortment of sacrificial portions, usually double ones with other complementary shares, to convey special honors. In the community of Amyzon, we apparently find a choice between the direct giving of portions if the honorands are present as participants, and the sending of portions to others who are envisaged as probably absent. A degree of flexibility in the honorific mechanisms employed by a given polis or group, as well as in the vocabulary of these honors, is thus apparent.

Comparable—but also different—forms of compromise between the presence and the absence of honorands were possible.[78] A detailed case is provided by a Roman-era text from Kula in Lydia, originally part of a decree from a cultic group or small community, which prescribes honors for one Lykinos and his descendants.[79] While Lykinos is alive, a crown and a leg from a pair of (yearly?) animal sacrifices will be dispatched (διαπένπεσθαι) to him. When he

77 By contrast, Jacquemin 2008, 233, hedges her bets: "La possibilité d'un envoi sous forme d'argent n'est cependant pas à exclure."

78 Several other examples could be adduced. Cf. also e.g., the honors given by an association of landowners to a man called Paris (appointed ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου) at Psenamosis, *Prose* 40 (67/4), lines 41–42 (second decree): καὶ λαμβάνειν διπλᾶ μέρη· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ παρῆι, πέμπεσθαι αὐτῶι, στεφανοῦ|σθαι δὲ καὶ ... For this text, cf. Paganini forthcoming; for the double share of meat, cf. *Prose* 49 (Psenemphaia, 5), line 39.

79 *TAM* V,1 234 (Kula, early first century AD?), lines 1–6: ἐξ ἑκατέρας τῶν θυσιῶν διαπένπεσθαι πρὸς Λυκῖ[νον - father's name? -] | ΟΛΕΟΝ τε στέφανον καὶ σκέλος ἕως ̣τοῦ ζῆν αὐτό⟨ν⟩· ὅταν δ' ἀπ[ο]|θεωθῆι Λυκῖνος, ὑ⟨π⟩άρχε[ιν] τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ τό τε γέρας ὁμοίως, | ὅταν ἐπιδημῶσ[ι], καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τὴν ἰσομοιρίαν· πέμπεσθαι | δὲ καὶ ξένιον α̣[ὐτ]ῶι τε καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ καθ' ἑκάστην | ἐπιδημίαν ἱερεῖον, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ... Line 2: possibly θ̣⟨α⟩λέον (cf. the words θαλλός, θαλία/θαλέα)? Decree: cf. line 10, τὸ ψήφισμα, of which two copies were to be inscribed; note also τὰ δοχθέντα in line 8. Cultic group or *koinon* (?): the text mentions an annually appointed βραβευτής, lines 12–13.

has died and become a god (ὅταν δ’ ἀπ[ο]θεωθῆι), his descendants will receive (ὑ⟨π⟩άρχε[ιν]) the same perquisite whenever they reside at Kula (τό τε γέρας ὁμοίως, ὅταν ἐπιδημῶσ[ι]). A gift of friendship (ξένιον) is also to be conveyed (πέμπεσθαι) to Lykinos and his descendants whenever they visit Kula, consisting of a sacrificial animal (ἱερεῖον). The gift is very similar to the grant of παράστασις discussed above; the verb πέμπεσθαι here seems to indicate only a short distance, perhaps the escorting of the animal which would form a part of the procession (πομπή) during the ritual occasion.

Despite the fact that a portion of the inscription is now missing, several things are clear from the text. Lykinos was a foreigner honored by the community and normally not expected to be residing at Kula; the same goes for his descendants. He is to be sent a special portion over some distance, a γέρας consisting of a leg (διαπένπεσθαι is a verb which certainly suggests an actual expedition). This privilege, however, is exceptional and not extended to his descendants unless they present themselves at Kula for the sacrifices. This requirement also applies to the equal share in the rites and other privileges (καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τὴν ἰσομοιρίαν) awarded to Lykinos and his descendants, as well as to the gift of an additional animal to be sacrificed as part of the celebrations. Presence and some measure of participation are thus necessary for the full range of honors to be conferred on both Lykinos and his descendants.

Three late Hellenistic decrees from Mantinea, issued by associations (*koina*) of priests or cultic groups, all refer to the practice of calling individuals "to the perquisites" (ἐπὶ τὰ γέρα). As Louis Robert well remarked, this honor entails that a herald or a group of officials would summon the honorands to the post-sacrificial honors and the division of the meat, so that they might receive their due.[80] In one case, an honorific decree of the priestesses of Demeter for one Phaena, who had herself served in that capacity, we even find a direct citation of the proclamation that would be made to that effect during the annual sacrifices.[81] In this case, Phaena was clearly a resident and member of the community, so the portions were perhaps simply handed over to her, during the ritual occasions in which she herself participated (δίδοσθαι αὐτᾷ διὰ βίου γέρα τὰ εἰθισμένα); she might then dine with the other female priestesses and worshippers of Demeter. The proclamation, however, as in some cases noted above,

80 Summoning and invitations: Robert, *Amyzon*, 123–124; cf. also Jacquemin 2008, 231–232 on these texts from Mantinea.

81 Phaena: *IG* V,2 266 (cf. *IPArk* 12, 64/1), lines 35–40: καλεῖν | τε αὐτὰν ἐπὶ τὰ γέρα διὰ παντὸς ἐν ταῖς γινομέναις ἀντ’ ἐ|νιαυτοῦ θυσίαις τε καὶ σιταρχίαις, ἀνακαλούσας τᾶς ἀεὶ | ἀντιτυγχανούσας ἱερείας τε καὶ σιταρχοῦς· "τὸ κοινὸν τᾶν | ἱερειᾶν τᾶς Δάματρος ἐπὶ τὰ γέρα καλεῖ Φαηνὰν Δαματρί|ου τὰν αὐτᾶν εὐεργέτιν," δίδοσθαι δὲ αὐτᾷ διὰ βίου γέρα τὰ | εἰθισμένα.

serves to make even more conspicuous the honor of the special share of meat that would be given to Phaena. In another example, a decree of the Koragoi (an association of worshippers) for one Nikippa, we also find the public invitation to the γέρα, but here it is said that the portion will be sent (πέμπειν) to the female honoree.[82] It may be that the difference in phrasing here does not reveal anything significant, since Nikippa might also be imagined as present at the rites, or at least as resident in Mantinea. Alternatively, the explanation for this use of the verb πέμπειν may be that Nikippa was formally invited to the γέρα by "those who perpetually host a meal" (οἱ ἀεὶ ὑποδεχόμενοι), but that this was only a *pro forma* invitation since women did not normally dine with men. As with Archippe of Kyme (see above), her actual portion of meat would thus be sent to her separately. This inference is clarified and substantiated by the third decree known from Mantinea, which was issued by the priests of Asklepios and praises a woman called Iulia Eudia as well as her husband Gaius Iulius Strobeilos. The honors here are the most elaborate: a statue of Iulia in the temple, a celebration of her birthday, the invitation to the γέρα for herself, her husband, and her descendants whenever the priests make a sacrifice and dine (καθ' ὃ ἂν δειπνῶσι οἱ ἱερεῖς).[83] For the grant of the portion, we may again note a difference in the vocabulary used: Iulia Eudia is to be sent (ἀποστέλλειν) a portion from the Isiac and 'Pyrophoric' meals (δεῖπνα). Since Iulia Eudia and her husband were apparently citizens, this need only imply the conveyance of meat over a short distance to the household. But the gesture stresses that while the female honoree was formally invited to the ritual occasion and to the portioning of the γέρα, she did not physically participate in the meals but only shared in the sacrificial meat in her household.

In other words, though there is a measure of consistency in the evidence presented here, there is a fair degree of nuance and uncertainty as well. 'Giving' a portion and providing an extra animal is sometimes vague, notably about whether the honorand is present or not, much like 'sending,' which need not always mean 'sending abroad,' though it could and sometimes manifestly did. What is clear, however, is that the practice of granting an honorific share of

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82 Nikippa: *IG* V,2 265 (*IPArk* 11, 60/59), lines 29–33: καλεῖν δὲ αὐ|τὰν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ γέρα τοὺς ἀεὶ ὑποδεχομένους κα|θὼς καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τοὺς τὰν σύνοδον τετι|μακότας ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἁμέραις, πέμπειν δὲ | αὐτᾶι καὶ αἶσαν ὡσαύτως· ε[ἰ δέ τ]ις μὴ καλέσει … For πέμπειν perhaps implying conveyance only over a short distance, see above with n. 70.

83 *IG* V, 2 269 (*IPArk* 13, early first century AD?), lines 22–28: καλεῖν δὲ αὐτὴν κα[ὶ] | ἐπὶ τὰ γέρα δι' αἰῶνος καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους αὐ|τῆς, καθ' ὃ ἂν δειπνῶσι οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἔν τε τοῖς Ἰσι[α]|κοῖς καὶ πυροφορικοῖς δείπνοις ἀποστέλ|λειν αὐτῆι αἶσαν, καλεῖν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ γέρα καὶ Γάϊον | Ἰούλιον Στρόβειλον· ἐὰν δέ τις μὴ καλέσῃ εἰ μ[ὴ] | ἀποστείλῃ τὴν αἶσαν οἷς ἐπιβάλλον ἐστίν …

meat was geographically widespread in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[84] Still, the honor is not overwhelmingly common. There are only a limited number of cases about which we are relatively well informed (Amyzon, Mantinea, Methymna, and a few others), each of which adopted analogous but also somewhat different practices for issuing honors. Granting a share of sacrifices was thus far from a universal practice in Hellenistic Greek cities. In particular, the right of participation and of obtaining an equal share in sacrifices was to all appearances much more commonly granted than a truly special portion or a γέρας. What is more, sending such a γέρας over long distances was, it would appear, a singular and noteworthy commendation.

Beyond the simple desire to honor an individual, what can we discern about the motivations behind the granting of a special sacrificial share? Economic factors doubtless played a role. When the portion of meat granted was a γέρας or a special portion, this will have been a share that was either more sizeable or more inherently valuable than a generic or 'equal' portion. When a leg is granted at Kula, or double portions are complemented with extra shares of beef or lamb at Methymna, the aim of augmenting otherwise established honorific procedures was surely to provide a substantial and valuable amount of meat which could be consumed or even sold at a profit.[85] The substantial fines and other penalties for contravening the prescribed summoning of the honorees in the Mantinean decrees discussed above suggest that the honors were taken seriously, both in and of themselves and as financial rewards. Yet, from what we can tell of the actual value of the portions, they were not extremely expen-

84 We should thus be wary of a systematic assessment of the evidence for *in absentia* participation (or for honorific shares more generally), such as the one offered by Jacquemin 2008, 230: "La documentation ... ne comprend pas de cas d'officier attalide ou de Romain. Elle ne connaît pas non plus d'exemples postérieurs [to the Seleucid period] concernant des bienfaiteurs de sexe masculin, à l'exception du texte mal documenté de Kula." Counterexamples can readily be found: for a case involving the Attalids, see n. 70 above; for an example at Istros in the second century where a man is granted a portion 'sent' to him, see above n. 29; cf. also the even later example from Psenamosis in Egypt, n. 78 above.

85 As Robert notes, *Sinuri*, 48–50, portions in a κρεανομία usually weighed at least one *mina* (but probably no more than ca. two); see also Schmitt Pantel 1997, 355. Minimum weights for portions are sometimes found in the case of priests as well; cf. the sale of the priesthood of Zeus at Kasossos in Karia, which stipulates that the priest is to receive a leg from ox "weighing no less than 10 *minai*" (about 4 kg), *I. Mylasa* 942 (second century), lines 6–7: λήψεται τοῦ βοὼς κωλεὸν ἔλ|[κο]ντα μὴ ἔλασσον μ{η}νῶν δέκα. The wide discrepancy between the two—priestly and individual portions—is striking and underlines the hierarchy inherent in the distribution of portions in Greek sacrifices.

sive, save perhaps in the rare cases where large amounts of beef are mentioned. Even a leg from a smaller animal like a sheep or a pig would not have cost more than a dozen drachmai; other portions will have sold for considerably less.[86] This monetary value was much smaller than what was expected of the cash that was sometimes given as a single gift of friendship (ξένιον, ξένια), though the portion of meat will of course have been more regularly obtainable (annually or even more frequently).[87]

In some cases, however, it was a greater honor to receive a reward in kind than to collect money. Indeed, though there was a small economic benefit to receiving a portion, there was also, patently, a greater social and religious one. When present, obtaining an equal or special share allowed one to sacrifice, dine, and feast as part of a unified community, "just like the others," and also to share this meal with the god. The notion of financial reward should also not lead us to suspect that the inherent value of the meat was the primary motivation for sending it, whether over short or long distances. As Parker noted in some examples from Athens mentioned above, and as we can see in the relationships between Zenon and members of his wider circle, the sending of meat could define and develop social networks. Sharing meat with remote family or friends was a way of eating together despite the distance, and the same reasoning applies to cities and other communities. In the case of meat that was sent over fairly long distances, in particular, it should be clear that the actual value of the portions almost certainly did not in and of itself justify the no doubt more substantial expense of dispatching them. The effort and cost of sending the meat (after salting or pickling it) in fact probably made it a more prestigious honor. It was the perceived symbolic value of the meat that made it all worthwhile.

Whether the honorand was present or absent, then, commensality was key. Two final, particularly detailed—but also unique—examples show this admirably. A poetess from Smyrna called Aristodama was rewarded for her ser-

86 To take one example from the better-understood Athenian material, we know that 13 dr. (drachmai) might compensate a priest for "a leg and hide" from a male pig costing 40 dr., perhaps one that was the object of a holocaust and from which these standard perquisites could therefore not be granted; cf. Lambert 1997, lines 35–36: σκέλος κ|αὶ δέρματος ἐν Εὐρυσακείωι ΔⱵⱵⱵ δραχμάς; this corresponds to the sacrifice on 18 Mounychion, line 88: Εὐρυσάκ[ει] ὗν : ΔΔΔΔ. See Ferguson 1938, 6 for the translation of the genitive as "in lieu of." Rosivach 1994, 62–63 calculates the price of swine hides as ca. 1.5–5 dr., thus leaving ca. 8–11 dr. for the price of the leg in this case.

87 A few examples will suffice: *IG* V,2 367 (Kletor, 168–146), line 43 = 50 dr.; *IG* XII,5 604 (Keos), lines 5–6 = 30 dr.; see also below n. 90, for ξένια worth 100 dr.

vice by the city of Chaleion in Lokris; the honors are known from a copy of the decree set up at Delphi.[88] Chaleion, if the restorations are correct, remarkably resolves that it will send a γέρας to her in recompense for her poetic service, a portion which is qualified as coming "from Apollo, from his sacrifice" (πα[ρ]ὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλων[ο]ς ἐκ τᾶς θυσίας; this refers to Apollo Nasiotas at Chaleion).[89] Moreover, the itinerary of this portion of meat is specified to a certain degree: the portion is to leave "from our city," and its destination is the household hearth of Aristodama in Smyrna.[90]

Not only does this text reveal a unique (though admittedly oddly formulated) rhetorical emphasis on the definition of the honorific portion—possibly even an illuminatingly theological one since Apollo himself appears to provide the γέρας from the offering he receives—it also makes explicit how the portion of meat was transferred and consumed, namely to and at the household hearth in the honorand's city. The singularity of the honor is moreover underlined by the fact that the same Ionian poetess received another set of privileges in a contemporary Aitolian decree of Lamia, but the honors there are much more succinct and not sacrificial.[91] The city of Chaleion therefore decided on conspicuous honors, taking place very probably on a single, extraordinary occasion, but memorialized both locally and at Delphi: to send a special portion of

88 Daux 1922, 445–449 no. 1 (cf. *FD* III.3: 145; *IG* IX,1² 3: 740; ca. 218/7), lines 18–21, with text corrected here: … [πέμψα]σθαι δὲ αὐτᾶι καὶ ἀπὸ τᾶς | [πόλιος ἁμῶν γέρ]ας πα[ρ]ὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλων[ο]ς | ἐκ τᾶς θυσίας μερί[δ]α [ἐπὶ τὰν ἑστίαν αὐτᾶς εἰς] | Ζμύρναν· εἶμεν δὲ αὐτὰν … The text is inscribed in two columns on the exterior of an exedra in the "Aire" (the open space in front of the polygonal wall) at Delphi; the change between col. a and col. b of the text occurs at line 20. Wilhelm 1929, 166 restored [ἐπὶ τὰν ἑστίαν αὐτᾶς], where Daux and *FD* have μερί[δ]α [κρεῶν ἐπὶ τὰν ἑστίαν]. The former is surely correct, since meat need not be specified; the phrasing also corresponds to what is found in the decree for Sostratos (see below n. 93). In the text given above, I restore [εἰς] | Ζμύρναν instead of [ἐν] | Ζμύρναν (Daux, *FD*), also on the basis of that comparison. In line 18, a strong possibility is that the transport of the portion occurred only on a single occasion, since the other honors in the decree are stipulated in the aorist ([στ]εφανῶσαι, ποιήσασθαι); therefore, we should probably think of an aorist form for the 'sending' too: thus [πέμψα]σθαι rather than Daux's [πέμπε]σθαι.

89 As the text specifies (lines 36–37), two copies were to be inscribed, one at Delphi and one in the local sanctuary of Apollo Nasiotas (now lost).

90 A one-time gift of ξένια worth 100 dr. was also to be sent to Aristodama (lines 28–29), probably at the same time as the meat.

91 *IG* IX,2 62 (218/7). As Daux 1922, 448 well observed from the contrast: "… Chaleion doit avoir conçu quelque orgueil de sa visite, si l'on en juge par l'abondance de notre inscription, particulièrement frappante quand on rapproche le décret étolien."

meat all the way from Chaleion to Smyrna (about 350 km as the crow flies; a longer journey by boat).[92]

Only a single other honorific decree is as exceptional and elaborate, and this concerns a famous individual: Sostratos of Knidos who designed the Lighthouse at Alexandria and was evidently a major player in Ptolemy I and II's circles. The league called the Nesiotai awarded Sostratos elaborate honors, and their decree includes the following consideration: "so that from all the sacrifices which the Nesiotai make in Delos for the other gods and for Ptolemy Soter and for King Ptolemy (II) a priestly portion (γέρας) may be sent on each festival occasion to the hearth of Sostratos in Knidos, for him and his descendants, just as if (they were) brothers (i.e., Nesiotai), let the periodically appointed supervisors of the sacrifice take care of this."[93] If interpreted correctly, the honor bestows a single γέρας from among all of the animals sacrificed, but, importantly, one during each festival (*panegyris*) that the Nesiotai celebrated on Delos. Contrary to what we find in Aristodama's case, then, Sostratos will have been sent at least a few significant portions of meat every year, and this practice was set to continue for his descendants as well. But as we find in the decree of Chaleion, the Nesiotai have seen fit to prescribe that the meat will be sent directly to the hearth of Sostratos's household in Knidos, where it could be consumed. (The distance from Delos to Knidos is less than half that envisaged in Aristodama's case, thereby also making the regular maritime transport of portions more practicable.[94])

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92 Single occasion: see above n. 88. As we have seen, the portion must have been sent in kind rather than as a cash sum, as Daux 1922, 448 had correctly surmised: "l'envoi est fait en nature, non en argent: c'est bien un morceau de la chair des victimes que l'on fera parvenir à Aristodama." He also reckoned that the meat may have been salted for preservation (p. 449).

93 *IG* XI,4 1038 (Delos, ca. 280–270), lines 23–28: ὅπως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ὧν θύ|ουσιν οἱ νησιῶται ἐν Δήλωι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις θεοῖς καὶ | Σωτῆρι Πτολεμαίωι καὶ βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίωι ἀποσ|τέλληται καθ' ἑκάστην πανήγυριν ἐπὶ τὴν Σωσ|τράτου ἑστίαν γέρας εἰς Κνίδον αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγό|νοις καθάπερ ἀδελφοῖς, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀεὶ γι|νομένους ἐπιμελητὰς τῆς θυσίας.

94 Holleaux 1907, 343–344 presumed that this γέρας was in fact a sum of money, pointing to the monetary equivalents that could be provided in exchange for perquisites, e.g., in the cult of Demeter at Antimacheia on Kos, now *IG* XII,4 356 (early third century), lines 10–12: ἦμεν δὲ καὶ τῶν γερῶν τῶν θυομένων ταῖς χρηζοὺ|σαις ἀποδόμεν τοῦ μὲν ἐτέλου ἡμιωβέλιον, τοῦ δὲ τελεί̣ο̣υ̣ | [ὀβολόν]. But as we have seen, meat is more likely, especially if it derived, as the text itself avers, "from the sacrifices which are made" or, even better, "from the animals which are sacrificed" (τῶν ἱερῶν ὧν θύ|ουσιν, lines 23–24).

Envoi

Sending a portion of meat at such a remove, from Chaleion to Smyrna or from Delos to Knidos, allowed an absent honorand to be 'present,' to use Jacquemin's elegant phrase, to figuratively attend and participate in a sacrificial occasion where he or she was invited and honored.[95] But the commensality also lay on a deeper level. In the case of Sostratos as well as of Aristodama, there was a need to stress the fact that the portions were sent to the honorand's hearth.[96] Though it is not explicitly stated in other cases, such as at Amyzon for instance, we might suppose that portions would implicitly have been sent to the house of the honorand. Though the 'hearth' may simply represent a metonymy for the 'house,' the added emphasis on the fact that the portions were to be sent to the household hearth is intriguing. This rarely attested honor was perhaps a method for replicating *in absentia* the invitation to the common public hearth, typified by the phrase that one finds repeatedly in honorific decrees: καλεῖν (x) εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν τῆς πόλεως (or τοῦ δήμου) ἑστίαν.[97] The sending of ξένια may have been another way of affirming and representing this privilege, since it is often juxtaposed with the invitation to the common hearth in the prytaneion.[98] It is also known that *theoroi* were honored with an animal sacrifice "at the hearth" (ἐφέστιον), in order to symbolize their acceptance into a community and the receipt of such gifts of friendship. One particularly detailed example, from the acceptance of the festival of the Leukophryena of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander by Epidamnos, states that the welcoming of the *theoroi* is to be accompanied by the fireside sacrifice of a sheep, from which the guests will receive (all of) the legs and the fleece, in addition to their travel allowance (ἐνε-

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95 Jacquemin 2008, 233–234: "permettait à un absent d'être présent"; she supposes that formal embassies were used to send the meat in the two cases discussed above.

96 On the hearth and the *koine Hestia*, see Schmitt Pantel 1997, 93–93 (notably referring to Gernet, as well as to Detienne on commensality).

97 Cf. e.g., *IG* V,1 4 (Sparta, post 188), lines 21–23: καλεσάντω δὲ αὐτὸν | καὶ οἱ ἱεροθύται ἐπὶ ξένια ἐπὶ τὰν κοι|νὰν ἑστίαν.

98 Cf. e.g., a decree of Adramytteion in honor of a judge and his secretary on Andros, *IG* XII,5 722 I (106), lines 12–16: κληθῆναι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ| [ἐπ]ὶ ξενισμὸν εἰς τὸ π[ρυταν]εῖον ἐπὶ τὴν βουλαίαν ἑστίαν, με[ρί]|[σ]αντος Ἀρχέο[υ] τοῦ ταμίου εἰς τὴν ἐγδοχὴν αὐτῶν ὅσον ἂν | τῶι δήμωι δόξηι· πέμψαι δὲ τὸν Ἀρχέαν καὶ ἑκάστωι τῶν δι|καστῶν καὶ τῶν γραμματέων ξένια τὰ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου. Cf. *SEG* 29, 771 (Thasos, ca. 150–100), lines 23–26: καλέσαι δὲ | τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐπὶ τὰν | κοινὰν ἑστίαν· ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ξένια | τοὺς ταμίας κατὰ τὸν νόμον; *I. Magnesia* 101, lines 46–49, decree of the Larbenoi for judges of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander. On the hearth of the prytaneion and the goddess Hestia, see Merkelbach 1980, with a discussion of salient sources.

κέχειρον).[99] Sending meat to the hearth thus appears to emulate and mirror a deeply-rooted form of communal invitation and honor.

In other words, then, the mention of the household hearth in the decree for Aristodama and Sostratos is neither a mere gloss nor mundane. It hints at what one could justifiably call a 'network of hearths' in the Hellenistic period. Just as a sacrifice could be shared between friends and other groups at Athens already in the Classical period, with meat consumed at two or more separate fires, so the warm radius of the hearth of a community could be thought to encompass that of a foreigner in a distant land. The meaty links between hearths not only sustained euergetic relationships and friendships over short or long distances, marking the honorand as "one of the benefactors" (καθότι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐεργέταις, in the phrase one finds at Amyzon), but it could also make him "like one of the brothers" (in Sostratos's case) or virtually one of the members of the community.[100] A γέρας of meat, even at a distance, palpably connected an individual with a sacrificing and feasting community, as well as with the divine sphere. Cultic commensality was one of the articulations of the wider political and social network of honors, a network of hearths which could be activated each time the city or the community sacrificed.

Abbreviations

Amyzon	J. Robert and L. Robert, *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie*. Paris 1983.
Aphrodisias & Rome	J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, JRS Monographs 1. London 1982.
Choix Delphes	A. Jacquemin, D. Mulliez and G. Rougemont, *Choix d'inscriptions de Delphes, traduites et commentées*. Athens 2012.

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99 *I. Magnesia* 46, lines 39–42: καλέ|σα⟨ντα⟩ δ' α[ὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ πρυταν]εῖο[ν ἐ]πὶ τὰν κοινὰν ἑστ[ίαν], ἱερεῖον θῦσαι ἐφέστ[ι]|ον [καὶ δίδο]σ[θαι αὐτοῖς] τὰ [σ]κέλη καὶ τὸ νάκος καὶ ἐ̣[νεκέχηρον] ἀργυρίου Κορινθίου [ἡμιμναῖον, δόμεν δὲ καὶ τᾶι θεᾶι ἀργυ]ρ̣ίου ἡμιμναῖον. Cf. also e.g., *IG* XII,4 215 II (Asklepieion of Kos, decree of Messene, 242), lines 16–17: διδόμεν δὲ τοῖς θεωροῖς δεκαπέντε δραχμὰς ἑκάστω[ι] | τᾶς ἁμέρας καὶ ἐφέστιον οἶν καὶ ἐνεκέχειρον μνᾶν; *IG* XII, Suppl. 138 / *I. Magnesia* 52 (ca. 199), lines 31–33. On the ἐφέστιον and other ritual gifts for *theoroi*, see now Rutherford 2013, 79–80.

100 Jacquemin 2008, 228–229 comments on the expression "comme à des frères": "Le terme des "frères" a dû sembler aux Nésiotes le terme le plus satisfaisant pour évoque une communauté qui dépassait le cadre de la cité, sans avoir cependant une base ethnique"; see also Wilhelm 1929, 163–168 on the καθότι and καθάπερ expressions found in some of the evidence. Cf. also again Herman 1987 on the wider theme of friendship and ξένια.

FD III.3	G. Daux and A. Salać, *Fouilles de Delphes*, III. *Épigraphie*, Fasc. 3: *Inscriptions depuis le trésor des Athéniens jusqu'aux bases de Gélon*, 2 vols. Paris 1932–1943.
IG Bulg	G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, 5 vols. Sofia 1958–1970, 1997 (Vol. 1, 2nd ed. 1970).
I. Estremo Oriente	F. Canali De Rossi, *Iscrizioni dello estremo oriente greco. Un repertorio*. IGSK 65. Bonn 2004.
I. Kaunos	C. Marek, *Die Inschriften von Kaunos*. Vestigia 55. Munich 2006.
I. Keramos	E. Varinlioğlu, *Die Inschriften von Keramos*, IGSK 30. Bonn 1986.
I. Kyme	H. Engelmann, *Die Inschriften von Kyme*, IGSK 5. Bonn 1976.
I. Magnesia	O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*. Berlin 1900.
I. Mylasa	W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Mylasa*, IGSK 34–35, 2 vols. Bonn 1987–1988.
IPArk	G. Thür and H. Taeuber, *Prozessrechtliche Inschriften der griechischen Poleis: Arkadien* (*IPArk*), SBWien 607. Vienna 1994.
I. Priene^2	W. Blümel and R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Priene*, IGSK 69.1. Bonn 2014.
IScM I	D.M. Pippidi, *Inscriptiones Daciae et Scythiae Minoris antiquae. Series altera: Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris graecae et latinae*, Vol. 1: *Inscriptiones Histriae et vicinia*. Bucharest 1983.
IScM III	A. Avram, *Inscriptiones Daciae et Scythiae Minoris antiquae. Series altera: Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris graecae et latinae*, Vol. 3: *Callatis et territorium*. Bucharest 2000.
LSAM	F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*. Paris 1955.
LSS	id., *Lois sacrées des cités grecques, Supplément*. Paris 1962.
NGSL	E. Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law: A Collection of New Documents*, 2nd ed., Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 152. Leiden/Boston 2009.
P. Cair. Zen.	C.C. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri*, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, 5 vols. Cairo 1925–1940.
P. Mich. Zen.	C.C. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri*, *Michigan Papyri* vol. I, Univ. of Mich. Studies, Humanistic Series 24. Ann Arbor 1931.
Prose	A. Bernand, *La Prose sur pierre dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine*, 2 vols. Paris 1992.
PSI	G. Vitelli and M. Norsa, *Papiri greci e latini*, Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto, 11 vols. (I–XI). Florence 1912–1935. (further vols., XII–XV, have also appeared)
Sardes	L. Robert, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes*. Paris 1964.

Sinuri	L. Robert, *Le sanctuaire de Sinuri près de Mylasa*, Vol. 1: *Les inscriptions grecques*. Paris 1945.
TAM V,1	P. Herrmann, *Tituli Asiae Minoris, V. Tituli Lydiae, linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti*, 2 vols. Vienna 1981 and 1989.

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